The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XVII

The First Civil War

TRANSLATED BY G. R. HAWTING

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Many of the events treated in this volume have become part of the historical consciousness of Muslims. The first civil war of Islam, the Fitnah, is widely seen as of decisive importance in dividing the Muslims into three major traditions, Sunnīs, Shīʿis, and Khārijīs, which have persisted until today. Although this division may be an over-simplification of a much more complex process of community formation, the events narrated here are certainly of great importance in the early history of Islam.

The volume is focused on the struggle between the caliph ʿAlī and his rival and eventual successor as caliph, Muʿāwiyah, the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty. About half of the material is concerned with the confrontation between the two at the battle of Ṣiffīn in 657, the fighting, the ending of the battle when the Syrian supporters of Muʿāwiyah are described as having attached Qurʾānic texts to their lances, and the subsequent negotiations between the two rivals which resulted in the dispute's being put to arbitration. Much detail is also provided about ʿAlī's struggle against the Khārijīs, his former supporters who had turned against him as a result of his agreement with Muʿāwiyah to accept arbitration; the revolt against ʿAlī in regions of Iraq and Persia around the northern edges of the Persian Gulf, which involved Christians, as well as Muslims, Arabs, and such non-Arab groups as Kurds; the events in Egypt that led to the burning of ʿAlī's representative there in the skin of a donkey; and the murder of ʿAlī by Ibn Muljam, the account of which sometimes reads as if it were a popular story.

Al-Ṭabarī's text makes available a wealth of detail in narratives collected from the now lost compilations of scholars of earlier generations. The bulk of the material is cited from the famous Abū Mikhnaf, who died in A.D. 774, but there are also many reports from other traditionists and narrators whose materials would be largely unknown to us if it were not for the work of al-Ṭabarī. The volume contains a number of speeches and letters attributed to the Prophet's son-in-law and cousin ʿAlī, including his deathbed speech to his sons, and there is also a version of the document drawn up by ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah in which they agreed to appoint arbitrators.

The Arabic text of the Leiden edition of al-Ṭabarī has been compared with the more recent Cairo edition and with the substantial parallel passages in such other works as the *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn* of al-Minqarī and the *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* of Ibn Abiʾl-Ḥadīd, as well as other sources, in an attempt to provide a secure text for translation. Individuals and places are identified in the footnotes, further references to sources and secondary literature are provided, and textual problems and historical matters are discussed. The volume contains a bibliography and index.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XVII

The First Civil War

FROM THE BATTLE OF ṢIFFĪN TO THE DEATH OF ʿALĪ

A.D. 656–661/A.H. 36–40

The History of al-Ṭabarī

Center for Iranian Studies

Columbia University

SUNY

SERIES IN NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XVII

THE FIRST CIVIL WAR

translated and annotated
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Preface

The history of prophets and kings (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has heen translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 39 volumes, each of which covers about 200 pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—)

between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the orginal Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the notes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as "dirham" and "imam," have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the notes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

Contents

Abbreviations

Add. et emend.: List of *addenda et emendanda* included in the final volume of the Leiden edition of the text of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*.
AIUON: Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.
Ann.: L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, 10 vols., Milan, 1905–26.
Ar.: Arabic.
BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
Cairo: The edition of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 10 vols., Cairo, 1960–69.
Ibn al-Kalbī: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, as rearranged and tr. W. Caskel and G. Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, 2 vols., Leiden, 1966.
EI¹: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed.
EI²: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden, 1967.
Gloss.: Glossary included in the final volume of the Leiden edition of the text of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*.
IJMES: International Journal of Middle East Studies.
Isl.: Der Islam.
JESAI: Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam.
JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.
JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies.
LA: Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, 15 vols., Beirut, 1955– .
Lane, *Lexicon*: E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. 8 vols., London, 1863–93.
RSO: Rivista degli studi orientali.
SI: Studia Islamica.

SNB: Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, 20 vols., ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo, 1959–63.

Ṭabarī: When followed by a reference, the Leiden edition of the Arabic text of the *Ta'rīkh*.

tr.: translation.

WS: al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. 2nd ed. Cairo, 1382/1962–63.

In references to the Qur'ān the verse numbering of the Egyptian edition is used.

Translator's Foreword

The Events Described in This Volume: Background and Summary

This volume of translation covers Part I, pp. 3256–3476, of the Leiden 1879–1901 edition of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*, a section of the text edited by E. Prym. To provide the necessary background for the events recounted in it, a summary of some of the happenings reported by al-Ṭabarī in earlier volumes is provided here.

In the summer of 656 C.E. the third caliph, 'Uthmān, was killed in Medina by malcontents from the garrison town of al-Fusṭāṭ in Egypt. This act opened the period know in Muslim historical tradition as the *Fitnah,* which Western writers have frequently called the *first civil war* of Islam. In the tradition the word *fitnah* is used in connection with later episodes, too, but this first one is regarded as of such importance that it is often referred to simply as the *Fitnah,* without further elaboration.

'Alī, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, was appointed to the caliphate in Medina in the troubled circumstances that followed the killing of 'Uthmān. From the start he had to face opposition from individuals and groups who generally proclaimed their loyalty to the dead caliph and a desire to take vengeance on his murderers. They charged that 'Alī had obtained the caliphate as the result of an unrighteous act (although usually stopping short of an outright statement that he had been behind 'Uthmān's death) and called upon him to hand over the killers so that blood revenge

could be taken. The implication was that 'Alī's caliphate was illegitimate, and he was neither able nor willing to comply with the demands of his opponents.

The first movement of opposition to 'Alī was led by a widow of the Prophet, the still relatively young and vigorous 'Ā'ishah, and two prominent Companions of the Prophet, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. They left the Ḥijāz and went to the garrison town of al-Baṣrah in Iraq, where they raised an army to fight 'Alī. He followed them to Iraq but went to the other garrison town there, al-Kūfah, which supplied most of the forces with which he would oppose the triumvirate. At the end of 656 the two sides met in battle near al-Baṣrah, known in tradition as the Battle of the Camel, and the result was an overwhelming victory for 'Alī. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were killed in the fighting and its aftermath, and 'Ā'ishah was made captive and sent back to Medina. 'Alī remained in al-Kūfah, which was his base for the remaining years of his life and a center for pro-'Alid movements of all sorts for the next century or so.

At that point, having apparently secured his position, 'Alī was confronted by another enemy, the governor of Syria and close relative of the murdered 'Uthmān, Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. Mu'āwiyah, whose criticisms of 'Alī also centered on the wrongful murder of 'Uthmān and included the demand that 'Alī hand over the killers for vengeance, was supported by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. 'Amr had commanded the armies that had seized Egypt for the Arabs from the Byzantines and had been that country's first Arab governor. In the tradition he appears very much as Mu'āwiyah's right-hand man, one might say his evil genius.

The present volume of the translation of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* consists of reports concerning a period for which the struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah supplies the main theme and focus of attention. It opens at the point where, after initial discussions between them had come to nothing, the two marched to confront each other in battle, a confrontation that occurred in the summer of 657 on the River Euphrates south of al-Raqqah, at the Battle of Ṣiffīn. The volume ends, about three and half years later, with the murder of 'Alī in al-Kūfah.

A large part of the volume is concerned with the Battle of Ṣiffīn, its conclusion, and the consequences of the way in which it was

concluded. Following 'Alī's march to Ṣiffīn, we are told of the the preliminary skirmishing, the fighting, and the way the fighting was brought to an end when the Syrian Arab soldiers of Mu'āwiyah, at the suggestion of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, attached copies of scripture to their lances and raised them in the air. Faced with this apparent appeal to the word of God, 'Alī's Iraqi Arab supporters forced him, against his will, to stop fighting and to negotiate with the enemy. The result was an agreement between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah that each side should appoint a representative or "arbitrator" (*ḥakam*) and that the two men thus appointed should meet in the future at some agreed upon place and time to settle the dispute peacefully. The agreement having been reached, the two armies separated and returned, Mu'āwiyah to Syria and 'Alī to al-Kūfah.

On the way back to al-Kūfah, however, many of those who had insisted that 'Alī abandon the fight and accept the Syrians' appeal to the word of God concluded that they had sinned in doing so. They argued that the appointment of men as arbitrators was contrary to the principle that all authority belonged to God. With the slogan "Authority belongs to God alone" (*lā ḥukma illā li-Allāh*), these men insisted that 'Alī begin the fight again, and, when he insisted that he could not, they branded him a sinner who must repent and seceded from him. These seceders are known as the Khārijites (*khawārij*), because they "went out from" (*kharaja min*) or rebelled against (*kharaja 'alā*) 'Alī. Initial attempts by 'Alī to win them back are said to have had some limited success, but ultimately were unsuccessful, and the result was a major battle between 'Alī and these Khārijites at the canal of Nahrawān east of the River Tigris in the region of al-Madā'in. The battle resulted in a mass slaughter of the Khārijites but not the eradication of their opposition to 'Alī.

The reports about the meeting of the "arbitrators" are confusing and obscure. They lead to the conclusion that no agreement was reached but that 'Alī's participation in the arbitration process had caused him to lose status and prestige. His position was further weakened by Mu'āwiyah's success in establishing his authority over Egypt. How Mu'āwiyah did this and the events leading to the killing of 'Alī's representative there, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, are described in some detail. In Iraq 'Alī had to face another rebellion, that of al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid and the tribe of Nājiyah. It is difficult to assess

the importance of this rebellion for 'Alī: The numbers of men involved do not seem to have been great, but the reports about it occupy considerable space in this volume. Although al-Khirrīt does not seem to have been connected with those men whose opposition to 'Alī culminated in the battle at Nahrawān, he is reported to have used some of their arguments (as well as others when addressing different groups of possible supporters), and some of the stories about him are remarkably parallel to some of those about the Khārijites. Also of interest in the reports about his revolt are the details concerning the unrest of the bedouins (including many Christians) and the involvement of Kurds.

The volume ends with the account of 'Alī's murder in al-Kūfah at the beginning of 661, an account that bears some of the signs of a popular narrative. We are told that he was killed by one Ibn Muljam, who is portrayed as motivated by a desire to avenge himself on 'Alī for those whom 'Alī had slaughtered at Nahrawān. Further, we are told that the murder of 'Alī was the only successful part of a plot aimed at the elimination of each of the three main players in the events recounted in this volume: 'Alī, Mu'āwiyah, and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.

Most of the other events reported here seem to have been more or less directly related to 'Alī's struggles with Mu'āwiyah and the *khawārij*. For example, there are accounts of the death of 'Alī's pious supporter 'Ammār b. Yāsir in the battle against Mu'āwiyah's Syrians, of the troubles in al-Baṣrah when Mu'āwiyah sent Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī there to attempt to win support, of the expedition of Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, sent against 'Alī's representatives in Arabia and the Yemen by Mu'āwiyah, of the activity of Ziyād b. Abīhi in Fārs and Khūzistān on behalf of 'Alī, and of the dubious behavior of 'Alī's representative in al-Baṣrah, 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, toward the end of the Fitnah. Two short and isolated reports of the attempt by 'Alī to establish control in western Khurāsān seem somewhat remote from the main theme.

The Significance and Interpretation of the Events Recounted Here

In the traditional accounts of the origins and early development of Islam the period of the Fitnah is of crucial importance. It is

portrayed as the time when the previously united community founded by the Prophet was split apart and the three chief sectarian traditions within Islam—Sunnī, Shī'ī, and Khārijī—had their origins. Not only the Fitnah as a whole, but also the prominent events within it, like the "raising of the Qur'āns," the appointment and meeting of the two "arbitrators," and the battle at Nahrawān, came to be seen as turning points in the history of Islam. This view is undoubtedly oversimplified, but in their attitude toward the different individuals and groups involved in the Fitnah later Muslims expressed and defined their own identities. Many of the events and personalities of this volume, therefore, have become a part of general Muslim historical consciousness in a way in which much else that is reported by al-Ṭabarī in his *History* has not.

But, in spite of the number of reports that have been transmitted and the richness of their detail, there is much about the Fitnah and its individual episodes that remains puzzling. The relative chronology and causal links of the various events are not at all certain from the sources and have been the subject of much discussion by such scholars as Leone Caetani and Julius Wellhausen. The nature of the tensions that erupted in the Fitnah have also been much studied. Wellhausen, like Muslim tradition itself, focused on the rivalries and intrigues among the leading figures of the time, whereas more recent scholars, like H. A. R. Gibb and Martin Hinds, have sought to elucidate the situation among the Arab warriors in the garrison towns and the causes of their resentment against the ruling authorities. Laura Veccia Vaglieri has attempted to use the material preserved in relatively late Ibāḍī sources to throw light on what exactly was at issue between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah and about what the two "arbitrators" were supposed to "arbitrate." The source material relating to the struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, as preserved by al-Ṭabarī and other early collectors of historical tradition, has been analyzed in particular by E. L. Petersen. The present translator has drawn attention to parallels between some of the terms and concepts that occur in the Muslim traditions about the Fitnah and those to be found in Jewish materials concerned with the conflict between Scripture and "Oral Law" as sources of religious authority. For more detail, see the works listed in the Bibliography of Cited Works at the end of this translation and the various articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* referred to in the notes.

Al-Ṭabarī's Sources in This Volume

In this volume as elsewhere al-Ṭabarī cites a selection of material from a number of earlier sources, most of them now lost, introducing each individual report with an *isnād*, or chain of authorities, which informs us of his immediate source and of the sources of his source. The *isnād* usually extends back to a narrator who took part in, or had first-hand knowledge of, the events being reported. The *isnād* is usually given in full but sometimes in an abbreviated form. It is not possible for us to be sure whether any individual report does indeed go back to the original source claimed for it or how far the material that constitutes the report has changed in the course of its transmission and redaction.

Although the alleged original sources for al-Ṭabarī's reports are extremely numerous and varied, many of them unidentifiable, the names of a number of scholars and narrators about whom we have some information recur frequently in the later stages of the transmission. These individuals can be regarded as precursors of al-Ṭabarī. Like him, they were concerned to collect, organize, and transmit available accounts relating to various aspects of the history of Islam. Basic information on each of these important names in the *isnād*s is usually given in a note accompanying the first mention.

For the events reported here, by far the most frequently cited of al-Ṭabarī's sources is the Kūfan collector of historical traditions, Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774). The material from Abū Mikhnaf is generally cited by way of another Kūfan traditionist, Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 206/821). From p. 3259 to p. 3444 of the Leiden edition nearly all the reports are recounted from Abū Mikhnaf, who was himself one or two generations distant from the events in question. In the later pages of the volume, particularly when the focus is on al-Baṣrah and its dependencies, al-Ṭabarī turns to reports collected by al-Madā'inī (d. ca. 235/850), transmitted through 'Umar b. Shabbah (d. 264/877). Less frequently Ibn Shabbah is cited as the transmitter of reports from collectors of tradition other than al-Madā'inī, for example, the Baṣran scholar Abū 'Ubaydah (d. 209/824–825) or the Kūfan 'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam (d. 153/770), whose material al-Ṭabarī more often cites via Ibn al-Kalbī.

In comparison with these two major sources of material (Ibn Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf and Ibn Shabbah—al-Madā'inī and others), al-Ṭabarī makes only limited use of others in this volume. In attempts to fix chronology, often in the sections that he provides at the end of each year, he sometimes cites two figures who are better known as collectors of biographical material on the Prophet—Abū Ma'shar (d. 170/787), cited through Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī, and al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822–823), cited via al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd. The volume opens with a report from 'Abdallāh b. Mubārak (d. 181/797), cited through 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī, and this line of tradition recurs on a number of occasions later in the volume, for events in Egypt and in Arabia, as well as in connection with the Battle of Ṣiffīn and the arbitration agreement. The long account of the murder of 'Alī near the end of the volume is reported from Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī (d. 258/871–872), and there are several other traditionists of the generation proceding al-Ṭabarī who are represented in this volume by single reports: Abū Kurayb, Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī and his brother Aḥmad, 'Umāra al-Asadī, Muḥammad b. 'Abbād b. Mūsā, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī, 'Alī b. Muslim al-Ṭūsī, and 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Azdī.

Manuscripts and Parallel Sources

Most of the text translated here depends on the evidence of a single manuscript, and for a few pages there is no manuscript at all. At that point Prym had to supply the text from a later source in which al-Ṭabarī is extensively cited. From the beginning of the volume (p. 3256 of the Leiden edition) to p. 3364, line 4, where the manuscript ends, Prym had only the Berlin manuscript Ahlwardt 9417 to work with. From p. 3368, line 18, the only manuscript available was in Istanbul, Köprülü 1045, until, until almost at the end of this volume (p. 3463, line 11), it became possible to supplement that with a Bodleian manuscript (Uri 722).

In such circumstances, naturally, the evidence of other sources in which al-Ṭabarī is quoted or parallel passages are provided becomes very important. Prym had several printed texts at his disposal for this purpose, notably the *Ta'rīkh al-Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, from which he was able to fill the lacuna in the manuscript evidence for this volume (pp. 3364, l.4–3368, l.18). Since the Leiden

edition was published several more such texts have become available. Two that are of special importance for much of this volume are the *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī (d. 212/827) and the *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah* of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1258). In the latter both al-Ṭabarī and al-Minqarī are cited extensively, and both were used by the editor of the Cairo edition of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*, Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, to supplement the Leiden text. (Although the Cairo editor had some new manuscript material for parts of the text, it seems that there was no such new evidence for the part translated in this volume.) The edition of the *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* referred to in the Cairo text is the first; the opportunity has been taken here to supply references to the much-improved second edition of the work.

I have been unable to undertake a systematic checking and improvement of the Leiden edition, a task that would involve a search for new manuscript material and extensive reference to parallel sources. Even so, I have sometimes been able to suggest improvements, and I hope that this volume of translation and its notes will be of benefit to anyone using the Arabic text.

The Translation

With one or two exceptions (indicated in the notes) the translation in this volume is based on the text established in the Leiden edition of Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*, including *Addenda et Emendanda*.

This volume contains a high proportion of letters and speeches that include rhetorical flourishes and expressions difficult to translate into English and sometimes difficult to understand. The chief problem, however, is that certain important words tended to be reinterpreted in the course of the transmission of the material and to be given new or altered meanings according to changing understanding of events. In such cases, the translator might seek to establish and convey the meaning that a particular expression would have had at the time when a report was first formulated (perhaps in the time of the Fitnah itself) or, alternatively, the sense in which al-Ṭabarī and his contemporaries would have understood it.

An example concerns words that seem to denote "scripture." Since the publication of John Wansbrough's *Quranic Studies* (1977), a number of scholars have been wary of accepting the traditional view

that a *ne varietur* consonantal text of the Qur'ān was fixed as early as the caliphate of 'Uthmān. They have, rather, envisaged the formation of the text and its acceptance in Islam as the Word of God as the results of a gradual, "organic" process. The process may not have been completed much before the end of the second century of the Hijrah, although precise dates are not possible; it is the gradualness of the process that is the important point. Expressions like *kitāb Allāh* (book of God), *muṣḥaf* (book), and *Qur'ān* (recitation or reading), which occur in the traditions about the Fitnah and the other events of early Islam, would certainly have been understood by al-Ṭabarī's generation as references to the Qur'ān, and it is difficult for readers of al-Ṭabarī to avoid imposing the same interpretation. Nevertheless, it is important to try to understand early ideas and expressions that may have been preserved in the material collected by al-Ṭabarī and others, and this effort involves attempting to disentangle them from the values and outlook of Islam as it had come to exist by the third century. Our understanding of the precise significance, at the time of the events reported in this volume, of expressions like those mentioned may be vague and obscure, but it is important to leave the possibilities open. To translate consistently by "Qur'ān," with all that the term implies for us, is to accept possibly misleading interpretations.

Qurrā' is a related case. In Muslim tradition it tends to be associated with the Qur'ān, and a common modern translation is "Qur'ān readers" or "Qur'ān reciters." This translation might seem justified when we find in one report the expression *qurrā' al-Qur'ān*, but some modern scholars have thought that in many traditions such an interpretation seems inappropriate (for example when we read of the thousands of *qurrā'* fighting in Mu'āwiyah's army at Ṣiffīn), and various theories have been put forward as to who precisely the *qurrā'* were. In a recent article in which he put forward his own interpretation, Norman Calder has underlined one cause of the problem: The texts, as they have been transmitted, have come to incorporate different layers of interpretation, often contained in glosses and substitutions that are not readily apparent. In this way early material might have been adapted to reflect later interpretation.

A further example is the concept of *ḥukm* and the various nouns and verbs derived from the same root. When embedded in stories

about the "arbitration" of the dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah the concept seems to have a limited and particular meaning, whereas in the Khārijite slogan mentioned previously it seems related to a much more general debate about sources of authority in religion. When the context provides no guidance, the meaning of the word may be ambiguous.

Clearly, such problems are not unique to this volume. Apart from those parts of his *History* related to his own time, all of al-Ṭabarī's work contains material that has been subject to the vicissitudes of transmission over generations in a period of significant and relatively rapid cultural change. Generally I have taken what seems to be the obvious course: I have indicated the occurrence of difficult words and expressions sometimes by giving the Arabic (either in brackets or in the notes) together with the translation, sometimes by leaving words untranslated and supplying a brief explanation or references to more extensive discussions in notes. The resulting loss of elegance or narrative flow seems a necessary price to pay.

In one important way translating this volume was made easier. All the material (apart from a few lines that seem to have puzzled the collaborators) is available in an Italian version produced in the 1920s by such scholars as Caetani, Giorgio Levi Della Vida, and G. Gabrieli, in volumes IX and X of Caetani's *Annali dell'Islam*. Although I did not always accept the translations offered there, the *Annali* provided a consistent way of checking my own, and I often found the editors' solutions to some of the trickier passages convincing. The notes and discussions that are appended to the Italian translation also remain valuable, even though the approach, often criticized as "positivist," now seems somewhat dated.

I am also very grateful to Professor Everett K. Rowson for his meticulous editing of the typescript of my translation. He made numerous comments and suggestions, some of which saved me from obvious mistakes and many of which I used to try to improve my efforts. Thanks are also due to those friends, colleagues, and students who responded to my many questions.

Translation often involves choosing one possible meaning from two or more, and it is inevitable that some will feel that I have made the wrong choices in particular places. Perhaps even more inevitable is the fact that this volume will contain actual errors, and for any

remaining I accept responsibility. It would not be true to say that the errors themselves were inevitable.

G. R. Hawting

The Events of the Year 36 (cont'd)

(JUNE 30, 656–JUNE 18, 657)

The Departure of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib for Ṣiffīn[1] [3256]

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Mu'āwiyah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Abū Bakr

1. For the background to the following reports about the prelude to the Battle of Ṣiffīn and the fighting there, see Translator's Foreword to the present volume. For further information, discussion, and references to sources and secondary materials, see *EI*², s.vv. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ṣiffīn, etc.; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (henceforth *Ann.*), vol. IX, 36 A.H., §346ff.; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 75–112; Hinds, "Banners and Battle Cries," 3ff.; idem, "The Siffin Arbitration Agreement," 93ff. For parallel versions and other accounts, in addition to the materials compiled and translated into Italian in *Ann.* (including references to the editions and manuscripts used), see especially Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī, *WṢ*; and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *SNB*. Material relating to the Battle of Ṣiffīn is scattered throughout the twenty volumes of *SNB*, but see especially vol. III, 165ff., 244ff.; vol. IV, 13–32, 175–258; vol. V, 302–17; vol. VIII, 9–102; vol. IX, 301–3; vol. X, 102–7; vol. XV, 104, 12–24. *WṢ* is frequently cited in *SNB*. Material from the relevant part of al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf* is available in Italian in Levi Della Vida, "Il Califfato di Ali secondo il *Kitāb Ansāb al-ašrāf* di al-Balāḏurī" (see pp. 449ff. for the events narrated here), as well as scattered throughout vols. IX and X of *Ann.*

al-Hudhalī:[2] When 'Alī had appointed 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās as his deputy over al-Baṣrah,[3] went from there to al-Kūfah, where he got ready to go to Ṣiffīn. He asked for advice about that. Some advised him to send his forces but remain in al-Kūfah himself, whereas others recommended that he go with the men. He insisted on taking command himself, and he prepared his men.

[3257] News of that reached Mu'āwiyah, who summoned 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ[4] and asked his advice. 'Amr said, "Since you have heard that 'Alī is on his way, set out yourself and be sure to confront him with your views and your strategies." Mu'āwiyah replied, "In that case, Oh Abū 'Abdallāh, prepare the men!"

'Amr proceeded to work them up and to disparage the strength of 'Alī and his followers, saying, "The men of Iraq have split among themselves, sapped their own strength, and blunted their cutting edge. Moreover, the Baṣrans are opposed to 'Alī, who has done them harm and dealt death to them.[5] Their leaders and those of the Kūfans wiped each other out at the Battle of the Camel, and 'Alī has set out with only a band few in number, among whom are those who killed your caliph. Fear God, lest you forfeit your right to claim vengeance and allow the blood of 'Uthmān[6] to go unavenged."

Mu'āwiyah conscripted men into the armies of the Syrians[7] and tied his banner for 'Amr,[8] and 'Amr in turn tied one for, among

2. The chain of transmission from al-Marwazī to 'Abdallāh (b. al-Mubārak) (d. 181/797; see *GAS*, I, 95) was frequently cited by Ṭabarī; for Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī (d. 167/783–784), see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 46, no. 180.

3. For 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, cousin of the Prophet and ancestor of the future dynasty of 'Abbāsid caliphs, see *EI*², s.v.; for his appointment over al-Baṣrah following 'Alī's victory at the Battle of the Camel, see Ṭabarī, I, 3230.

4. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (Abū 'Abdallāh) was the conqueror of Egypt and had been its governor for a time. In the struggle between Mu'āwiyah and 'Alī, 'Amr appears as Mu'āwiyah's right-hand man (see *EI*², s.v.; and, for the historical image of 'Amr in this struggle, Petersen, *'Alī and Mu'āwiya*).

5. The Baṣrans generally had fought against 'Alī and his Kūfan supporters at the Battle of the Camel (see *EI*², s.v. Djamal).

6. Literally, "your blood," but see *Gloss.*, s.v. *b-ṭ-l*.

7. *Wa-kattaba fī ajnādi ahli al-Sha'm*; the preposition *fī* suggests this translation, rather than "he formed troops into *katā'ib*." See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *k-t-b*, forms 2 and 8.

8. *'Aqada liqā'ahu li-fulān*, "he tied his banner for so-and-so," is a stock expression for "he appointed so-and-so to the command." On the use of banners among the Arabs, see *EI*², s.v. 'Alam; and the literature cited in Hinds, "Banners and Battle Cries," p. 8, nn. 28, 29; and Athamina, "Black Banners," 307–26, esp. p. 316.

others, his attendant (*ghulām*) Wardān[9] and his two sons 'Abdallāh and Muḥammad.[10] 'Alī appointed his *ghulām* Qanbar. Consequently 'Amr said:

Will Wardān suffice me against Qanbar,
and the Sakūn against the Ḥimyar,
When the men of courage don the armor?[11]

'Alī heard that and replied:

I shall meet al-'Āṣī b. al-'Āṣī[12]
with 70,000 men ready for war,[13]
Riding the horses and the young camels side by side
and tying to their hind parts the links of the chain mail.[14]

When Mu'āwiyah heard that, he said (to 'Amr), "It seems to me tht Ibn Abī Ṭālib is a match for you (*qad wafā laka*)," and he began to proceed more cautiously. He wrote to everybody he thought was [3258] afraid of 'Alī or had spoken evil of him[15] and to everybody who considered the shedding of 'Uthmān's blood to have been a grave matter, and he asked for their help against him. When al-Walīd (b. 'Uqbah)[16] saw that, he sent to Mu'āwiyah,

Indeed tell Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥarb:
"You are held to shame by a man of trust.

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9. Wardān is often referred to as the *mawlā* of 'Amr (e.g., Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 215).

10. For 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, noted transmitter of *ḥadīth* and specialist in apocalyptic tradition, see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. For Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 411.

11. For the Banū al-Sakūn (of Kindah), see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; for the Banū Ḥimyar, ibid., s.v.

12. Al-'Āṣī b. al-'Āṣī is a pun. In its full form the name of 'Amr's father was al-'Āṣī (generally shortened to al-'Āṣi and thence to al-'Āṣ), which can mean "the disobedient one" or "the rebel."

13. or, "full of anger"; see the expressions *'aqada liḥyatahu* and *'aqada nāṣiyatahu* in Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *'aqada*.

14. Possibly the camels were ridden to the place of battle to conserve the horses, which were then used in the fighting.

15. The Arabic could be read to mean that Mu'āwiyah wrote to all those who thought that he (Mu'āwiyah) was afraid of 'Alī and who had said evil things about him. Possibly he was writing to Iraqis in an attempt to deflect them from supporting 'Alī.

16. Al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayṭ was a cousin of Mu'āwiyah and former governor of al-Kūfah (see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 138ff.).

You have wasted time like the stallion camel of arousal,[17] confined and
bellowing in Damascus but unable to move.
You and your writing to 'Alī
are like a woman tanning a hid that has become worm-eaten and useless.[18]
Each band of riders for the emaciated camels of Iraq, tripping along,
excites in you the desire for the rule.[19]
But he who seeks revenge does not hang back
but seeks it relentlessly.
If you were the slain one,[20] and he ('Uthmān) were alive,
he would have drawn his sword, not turning aside, unflagging,
And not shirking from seeking vengeance until
he had slain in retaliation for it, not weary or sticking in one place.
Your family in Medina have been wiped out,
cast down like chaff."

Narrators other than Abū Bakr (al-Hudhalī) say that Mu'āwiyah summoned his secretary Shaddād b. Qays[21] and told him, "Find me a scroll to write on." When he had brought him one, Shaddād took up the pen and began to write, but Mu'āwiyah said, "Do not rush! Write:

"How surprised (he is) by what he sees of our deliberateness,
but, if war had buffeted him, he would not have said a word!"[22]

He then told Shaddād, "Roll up the scroll," and he sent it to al-Walīd (b. 'Uqbah), who, when he opened it, found only this one verse inside.

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17. For *al-sadim al-mu'annā*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.vv. It refers to a stallion camel that is led among females to arouse them then, having done so, is not allowed to couple but is taken away and tethered apart, bellowing in frustration.

18. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥalima*; Freytag (tr.), *Arabum proverbia* (= al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*), II, 346.

19. I find the sense of this line elusive. It perhaps continues the imagery of line 2, but, if so, the metaphor seems to obscure the meaning.

20. The text reads "if I were slain," but see *Add. et emend.*

21. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to him.

22. The verse is attributed to Aws b. Ḥajar (*Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Najm [Beirut, 1960], no. 48, verse 25 [p. 121]).

According to Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, when 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib marched to meet Mu'āwiyah, one of the men of Iraq wrote these two verses:

Tell the Commander of the Faithful [3259]
when you arrive, O brother of Iraq,
"Iraq and its people
eagerly await you, so come."[23]

According to 'Awānah (whose account is now resumed)[24], 'Alī sent Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī[25] ahead with 8,000 men as an advance guard and with him Shurayḥ b. Hāni'[26] with 4,000. 'Alī set out from al-Nukhaylah[27] with his men, and, after he had entered al-Madā'in,[28] the fighting men stationed there left with him. He put Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, the paternal uncle of al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd,[29] in charge of al-Madā'in and sent Ma'qil b. Qays[30] on from there with 3,000 men, telling him to go by way of al-Mawṣil[31] and then join him.

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23. The verses do not seem to fit in with the events as reported: they make it appear that 'Alī was somewhere else and that the Iraqis were calling him to come (to lead them against Mu'āwiyah?). It might be possible to read "Commander of the Faithful" in the vocative and understand something like "O Commander of the Faithful, when you arrive tell any Iraqi (on the side of Mu'āwiyah) . . . ," but the second verse would be more suitably addressed to 'Alī than to any ordinary Iraqi.

24. For 'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī, an important Kūfan collector and transmitter of tradition (d. ca. 153/770), see *EI*², s.v.; and *GAS*, I, 307–8. 'Awānah's material here is cited by Ṭabarī from 'Umar b. Shabbah from al-Madā'inī (see n. 401, below.) Ṭabarī's previous citation of the material from this source broke off at the point where this volume of translation begins. The story had reported how, following his unsuccessful sending of Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī to demand Mu'āwiyah's allegiance, 'Alī had moved out to the army camp at al-Nukhaylah, where he had been joined by Ibn 'Abbās and the men from al-Baṣrah.

25. For Ziyād b. al-Naḍr (of the Banū Madhḥij), see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

26. For Shurayḥ b. Hāni' (also of Madhḥij), see ibid., s.v. Šuraiḥ.

27. The usual place for the gathering of the Kūfan army, apparently northwest of al-Kūfah on the road to Syria.

28. Al-Madā'in was the Arabic name for the former Sasanid capital, Ctesiphon, on the Tigris south of the subsequently built city of Baghdad (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 33ff.).

29. For al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī, a major figure in the subsequent history of al-Kūfah, see *EI*², s.v. He had been brought up by his uncle Sa'd, following the death of his father during the conquest of Iraq.

30. Of the Banū Tamīm (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.); for his subsequent role in the suppression of the revolt of al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid, see pp. 181ff., below.

31. That is, Mosul in Mesopotamia.

'Alī Orders the Construction of the Bridge over the Euphrates

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī—'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār b. 'Abd Yaghūth al-Bāriqī:[32] When 'Alī reached al-Raqqah,[33] he ordered the Raqqans, "Build me a bridge so that I can cross from this place to Syria." They, however, refused, having seized control over the boats (which would be used for the bridge). 'Alī therefore departed from them to cross from Jisr Manbij,[34] leaving al-Ashtar[35] behind over the Raqqans while he himself went to move on with his men to cross with them at Jisr Manbij.

Al-Ashtar summoned the Raqqans and addressed them: "People of this fortress! I swear to you by God that if the Commander of the Believers goes on without your having made a bridge for him by your town so that he can cross, I will bare the sword among you
[3260] and kill the men, devastate the land, and seize your possessions." The Raqqans met one with another and said, "Does not al-Ashtar fulfill what he swears or perpetrate something even worse?" "Yes." Therefore, they sent to him, saying, "We will make a bridge for you, so approach." 'Alī came, they made the bridge for him, and he crossed over it with his baggage and footsoldiers. Then he ordered al-Ashtar, and he move up with 3,000 horsemen, until all of the men had crossed. Finally, al-Ashtar, the last of the men, crossed on foot.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī—'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār b. 'Abd Yaghūth: When the cavalry crossed they were all jostling together and the hat (*qalansuwah*)[36] of 'Abdallāh b. Abī

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32. For Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, important Kūfan scholar, d. ca. 206/821, see *EI*², s.v. Kalbī; and *GAS*, I, 268–71; for Abū Mikhnaf, Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā, d. 157/774, see *EI*², s.v.; *GAS*, I, 308–9; and U. Sezgin, *Abū Mikhnaf*.

33. For al-Raqqah, on the east bank of the Euphrates at approximately the same latitude as Mosul on the Tigris, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 101ff.; and *EI*¹, s.v. Raḳḳa.

34. That is, "The Bridge of Manbij," considerably to the north of al-Raqqah; from there the road went to Manbij (ancient Hierapolis), northeast of Aleppo (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 107f.).

35. For Mālik (b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī) al-Ashtar, 'Alī's right-hand man, see *EI*² s.v. al-Ashtar; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Mālik.

36. For the *qalansuwah*, a tall Persian headpiece, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, s.v.

al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī[37] fell off. He dismounted, picked it up, and rode on. Then the *qalansuwah* of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Azdī fell off, and he dismounted, picked it up, and rode on. He said to his companion:

If, as is said, the augur's idea is true,
   I shall be killed shortly and so will you.

'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥuṣayn said, "Nothing that could happen would be dearer to me than what you have mentioned." And they were killed together at Ṣiffīn.[38]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Khālid b. Qaṭan al-Ḥārithī: When 'Alī had crossed the Euphrates, he summoned Ziyād b. al-Naḍr and Shurayḥ b. Hāni' and sent them ahead toward Mu'āwiyah as a vanguard in the same role in which they had left al-Kūfah. Having been sent by 'Alī from al-Kūfah, Ziyād and Shurayḥ had followed [3261] the (west) bank of the Euphrates from the desert ajoining al-Kūfah as far as 'Ānāt.[39] There they heard that 'Alī had taken the road to al-Jazīrah and also that Mu'āwiyah had set out from Damascus with the forces of the Syrians to meet 'Alī. They said, "By God, we do not think it good that we should go on, with this expanse of water between us and the Muslims and the Commander of the Faithful. It would be bad for us if we were to meet the armies of the Syrians with our few men, cut off from reinforcement and support." They went out to cross the river from 'Ānāt, but the people of that place prevented them and stopped them getting boats, and they had to go back and cross from Hīt.[40] Then they joined up with 'Alī at a settlement below Qarqīsiyā'.[41] They had intended to attack the

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37. On 'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī and 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Azdī, see further (p. 51, below); and for the latter, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

38. The Arabic *yawm Ṣiffīn*, literally "on the day of Ṣiffīn," recurs frequently throughout Muslim tradition. *Yawm* ("day") is a common word for "battle," but it is clear from the narrative that the events at Ṣiffīn occupied several days. I have generally translated, therefore, by the less specific "at Ṣiffīn" or "the Battle of Ṣiffīn."

39. 'Ānāt on the west bank of the Euphrates (virtually due west of Takrīt on the Tigris) was counted by the medieval Muslim geographers as the most southerly major settlement on the Euphrates in al-Jazīrah (Mesopotamia) (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, index, s.v. 'Ānah).

40. For Hīt, also on the west bank and considerably south of 'Ānāt, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 65.

41. Qarqīsiyā' (Circesium), at the junction of the Khābūr and Euphrates Rivers about 200 miles below al-Raqqah, is far to the north of 'Ānāt; see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 105.

people of 'Ānāt, but the latter fortified themselves, so they withdrew.

When their advance force joined up with 'Alī, he said, "My vanguard has come to me from the rear!" Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī and Shurayḥ b. Hāni' approached him and told him what they had thought when they heard about what was happening, and 'Alī said, "You acted rightly." Then 'Alī went on, and, having crossed the Euphrates, he sent them ahead toward Mu'āwiyah.

Reaching Sūr al-Rūm,[42] they met Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī 'Amr b. Sufyān[43] with an army of Syrians. They, therefore, sent a message back to 'Alī: "We have encountered Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī with an army of Syrians. We have appealed to them, but not one of them has responded. Tell us what we should do." In response 'Alī sent to al-Ashtar, saying:

> Oh Mālik, Ziyād and Shurayḥ have sent informing me that they have encountered Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī with a body of the Syrians, and the messenger tells me that he left them confronting one another. Hasten to save your companions.[44] When you reach them you are in charge, but do not begin fighting the enemy, unless they attack
> [3262] you first, before meeting with them, appealing to them, and having been heard. "Do not allow their hatred to provoke you"[45] into fighting them before you have appealed to them and given them every chance, again and again, to change their views. Place Ziyād over your right wing and Shurayḥ over your left, and put yourself in the middle of your men. Do not approach close to them as if provoking war but do not keep at a distance as if fearing harm, until I come to you, for, God willing, I shall be hurrying on behind you.

42. This is, apparently, Ṭabarī's only reference to Sūr al-Rūm, which is not mentioned by Yāqūt or Le Strange; the name occurs in the same form in the parallel passage in *WS*, 153—apparently its only occurrence in that work.

43. For the military activity of this man in the time of the Prophet and during the conquest of Syria, see Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, index, s.v. Abu 'l-A'war; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Amr b. Sufyān.

44. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *n-j-w*.

45. See Qur'ān, 5:2, 8.

Abū Mikhnaf said that the messenger was al-Ḥārith b. Jumhān al-Ju'fī.[46]

'Alī wrote to Ziyād and Shurayḥ: "I have appointed Mālik (al-Ashtar) over you. Take heed of what he says and obey him. He is someone from whom neither rashness,[47] nor erroneous conduct is to be feared, and neither slowness regarding what is best done quickly nor rushing into what is best held back from. I have given him orders similar to those I gave you—that he should not begin an attack before meeting them and appealing to them and giving them every chance."

Al-Ashtar departed and came to the enemy. He followed 'Alī's orders and refrained from fighting, and they continued confronting one another. Then, at evening, Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī attacked them, but they stood firm and swapped blows for a while, and the Syrians withdrew.

The next day Hāshim b. 'Utbah al-Zuhrī[48] went out against the Syrians with a troop of horsemen and footsoldiers, many in number and well-equipped. Abū al-A'war came out to meet him, and they fought for that day, the horsemen attacking the horsemen and the footsoldiers attacking the footsoldiers. The Syrians held firm, man to man, and then they withdrew. Al-Ashtar attacked them, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Mundhir al-Tanūkhī[49] was killed. Ẓabyān b. 'Umārah [3263] al-Tamīmī,[50] who was only a raw youth, killed him, while al-Tanūkhī was the leading horseman of the Syrians. Al-Ashtar started saying, "Woe to you! Show me Abū al-A'war!"

Abū al-A'war called his men, and they went back to him, and he took up position behind the place where he had been at first. Al-Ashtar came and organized his men in lines in the place that Abū al-A'war had occupied. He told Sinān b. Mālik al-Nakha'ī,[51] "Go to

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46. See (p. 44, below). Of the Banū Madhḥij (see n. 174), he sometimes appears as al-Ḥārith b. Juhmān (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. al-Ḥāriṯ b. Ǧuhmān).

47. *Rahaq*; see Qur'ān 72:6, 13.

48. For Hāshim b. 'Utbah al-Zuhrī, al-A'war, al-Mirqāl, who had lost an eye at Yarmūk and been present at Qādisiyyah, see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 263–64; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Hāšim; and see further later (p. 70ff.)

49. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to 'Abdallāh b. al-Mundhir al-Tanūkhī.

50. Cairo has Ẓabyān b. 'Ammār; see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ẓabyān b. 'Umāra.

51. The following seems to be Ṭabarī's only mention of Sinān, who does not appear in Ibn al-Kalbī. Al-Ashtar's subsequent address of him as "my nephew," if it is to be taken literally, could indicate that a name had been omitted from his *nasab*.

Abū al-Aʿwar and challenge him to single combat." Sinān asked, "With me or with you?" Mālik (al-Ashtar) said, "If I told you to fight him singly, would you do it?" Sinān replied, "Yes. By God, if you asked me to go against their line with my sword, I would not come back until I had struck their line with my sword." Al-Ashtar said to him, "Oh my nephew, God give you long life! By God, my love for you has increased. I am not ordering you to fight him in single combat, but to challenge him to fight me. He would not come out to fight—if he agrees—unless against someone with the right seniority, equality of status, and nobility. You, may your Lord be praised, are of a family who have equality of status and nobility, but you are a raw youth in years, and he will not undertake single combat against young men. Call on him to fight against me." Sinān went and called out, "Give me safe conduct, for I am a messenger!" He was given safe conduct and he went on until he reached Abū al-Aʿwar.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ Abū Zuhayr al-ʿAbsī—Sinān: I drew near him and said, "Al-Ashtar summons you to fight against him in single combat." He gave me no answer for a long while, but then he said, "It was al-Ashtar's lack of sense and bad judgment that led to his driving out the officials of Ibn ʿAffān—may God be pleased with him—from Iraq and his insubordination to him and thus his losing the fruits of his own good deeds. It was a result of al-Ashtar's lack of good sense and his bad judgment that
[3264] he went to Ibn ʿAffān in his house and dwelling place and joined in with those who killed him, and he has become liable for his blood.[52] Indeed I have no need to fight him in single combat." I told him, "You have had your say. Now listen while I answer you," but he replied, "No, there is no need for me to listen to you or for you to answer—get going!" His men shouted at me, and I left him, but, if he had given ear to me, I would have told him of my master's explanations and arguments.

I went back to al-Ashtar and told him that Abū al-Aʿwar had declined the challenge, and he said, "He is concerned to save himself."

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52. For details of al-Ashtar's role in the anti-ʿUthmān movement, see *EI*², s.v. al-Ashtar: "Liable for his blood" = *muttabaʿan bi-damihi* (see Qurʾān 2:178 for *ittibāʿ* in a similar context).

We stood facing them until night drew its veil between us. We passed the night taking turns at guard duty, but the next day we saw that they had withdrawn under cover of night. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib joined us early in the morning. He sent al-Ashtar on ahead with those who were with him in the vanguard, and the latter came to Mu'āwiyah and took up position facing him. 'Alī came along behind him and quickly joined up with al-Ashtar. He took up position, and the two sides faced one another for a long time.

Then 'Alī sought a camping place for his army. Having found it, he ordered his men to lay down their baggage. When they had done so, the youth and young men went to get water, but the Syrians prevented them, and they fought one another by the water.[53] Previously al-Ashtar had said to 'Alī, "The enemy has beaten us to the drinking place, the most comfortable spot, and the pleasant camping ground. If you think it sound, let us go on. We shall pass beyond them to the settlement from which they came, and they will set out after us. When they catch up with us we shall have camped and we shall be on equal terms with them." But 'Alī disapproved of that, saying, "Not all the men are able to travel on," and he had them make camp.

The Battle "by the Water"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Tamīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Azdī—Jundab b. 'Abdallāh: When we came upon Mu'āwiyah, we found that he had set up camp in a flat and broad space, which he had chosen before we arrived, alongside a watering place in the Euphrates. In that area there was no other place to obtain water, and Mu'āwiyah had put it under his control and sent Abū al-A'war to deny access to it and to guard it. We went farther up the Euphrates in the hope of finding some other drinking place that would do for us, but we did not and so went back to 'Alī. We told him about the thirst the men were suffering and that we had found no other place in which to get water but that of the enemy, and he said, "Fight them for it."[54] [3265]

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53. *'alā al-mā'*, i.e., by the Euphrates. It is possible to understand *'alā* as indicating the object of or motive for the fighting, rather than where the fighting occurred, but in what follows it seems generally to have the latter sense; compare the phrase *jalasa 'alā al-nār*, "he sat by the fire."

54. *Qātilūhum 'alayhā:* here *'alā* must indicate the object of the fighting rather than where it should take place (see preceding note).

Al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī[55] came to him and said, "Shall I go against them?" and 'Alī said, "Do so." He did, and we went with him. When we approached the water, they rose up ahead of us and showered us with arrows while, by God, we loosed arrows at them for a while. Then we thrust at each other with spears for a long time, and finally we and they had recourse to swords and fought with them for a while. Next Yazīd b. Asad al-Bajalī[56] came to reinforce the enemy with cavalry and footsoldiers, and they advanced toward us. I said to myself, "Will the Commander of the Faithful not send anyone to us to cancel them out?" I went and turned around and saw a number of men similar to that of the enemy, or more, whom 'Alī had sent to us to counteract Yazīd b. Asad and his men. Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Riyāḥī[57] led these new troops, and the fighting increased in intensity.

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ came out against us from Mu'āwiyah's camp with a large force, and he began to give support to Abū al-A'war and Yazīd b. Asad, but al-Ashtar came from 'Alī with a mighty body of men. When al-Ashtar saw 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ reinforcing Abū al-A'war and Yazīd b. Asad, he sent help to al-Ash'ath b. Qays and Shabath b. Rib'ī and our fighting became fiercer. I will never forget what 'Abdallāh b. 'Awf b. al-Aḥmar al-Azdī[58] said:

[3266] Give us access to the flowing waters of the Euphrates,
    or stand fast against a host many in number,
Defying death against every warrior and selling themselves dearly,
    thrusting with their lances and wheeling to the attack,
Striking their enemies' skulls and full of daring.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a man from the family of Khārijah b. (al-Ṣalt?) al-Tamīmī:[59] Ẓabyān b. 'Umārah kept fighting on that day while saying:

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55. The leader of the Banū Kindah in al-Kūfah (see *EI*², s.v. al-Ash'ath b. Ḳays; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ma'dikarib b. Qais; and Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 110).

56. Leader of the Banū Bajīlah in Syria and grandfather of the future governor Khālid al-Qasrī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 102).

57. A leader of the Banū Tamīm in al-Kūfah (see Ibn Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Šabaṯ b. Rib'ī al-Riyāḥī; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 118).

58. A participant in many of the events of the period and often cited as an authority by his fellow Azdī Abū Mikhnaf (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

59. The name of Khārijah's father, missing in the text, is suggested by the editor, referring to I, 3214, l. 14; *WṢ*, 172, has Khārijah b. al-Ṣalt.

Can you, Oh Ẓabyān, endure life
    without water among those who inhabit the earth?
No, by the God of earth and heavens—
    so strike the faces of the faithless enemies
With the sword in the ferocious clamor
    until they render you equality.

Ẓabyān said: "By God we smote them until they gave us access to the water."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd—his paternal uncle, Muḥammad b. Mikhnaf: At that time I was with my father Mikhnaf b. Sulaym. I was seventeen years old and not yet enrolled for pay (*lastu fī 'aṭā'*).[60] When the men were denied access to the water, my father said to me, "Keep close to the encampment!" But when I saw the Muslims going toward the water I lost patience, took up my sword, set out with the men, and took part in the fighting.

Then I saw a slave lad of one of the men of Iraq, and with him he had a waterskin. When he saw that the Syrians had left open the way to the watering place, he pushed forward and filled his waterskin. Then he headed back, but one of the Syrian soldiers attacked him and threw him to the ground, so that the waterskin fell from his grasp. I assailed the Syrian, struck him, and laid him [3267] low, but his companions fought hard and rescued him. However, I overheard them saying to him (as they took him away), "We are not sure about your chances." I went back to the slave and carried him, and he could talk to me, even though he had a gaping wound. Quickly his master came, and he went off with him, while I took his waterskin, which was full, and brought it to my father, Mikhnaf. He asked, "From where did you get this?" and I said, "I bought it," for I did not want to tell him the story and make him angry with me. He said, "Let the men drink!" I did that, and he was the last to drink.

By God, my soul urged me on to fight, and I hurried forward with those who were fighting, and we battled with the enemy for a while. Then I saw that they had left the way to the water open to us, and by evening we could see our water carriers and theirs crowded

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60. On this system of payment in the early Muslim armies, see *EI*², s.v. 'aṭā'

together at the watering place without harming one another. I turned back and came upon the master of the lad who had had the waterskin, and I said to him, "We have your waterskin with us—send someone to get it or tell us where you are so that I can send it to you." He replied, "God's mercy on you, we have enough with us." I then turned away, and he went off. Next morning he passed by my father, stopped and greeted him, and saw me by his side. "This young man is not yours?" he said; and my father replied, "It is my son." The man said, "May God show you joy in him. Last evening God through him rescued my lad from death, and the young men of my clan told me that he was the bravest of the men at that time." My father gave me a look, and from his face I could see that he was angry. He kept quiet, and then, when the man had gone on, he said, "Is that what I instructed you?" and he made me swear that I would not go out to fight without his permission. So that was the only engagement I took part in until a later time.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī—Mihrān, client (*mawlā*) of Yazīd b. Hāni':[61] By God, my patron,
[3268] Yazīd b. Hāni', was fighting "by the water" with the waterskin in his hand. When the Syrians withdrew from the water I turned around to drink, fighting and firing arrows in between.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—'Abdallāh b. 'Awf b. al-Aḥmar: When we reached Mu'āwiyah and the Syrians at Ṣiffīn, we found that they had chosen an even, wide, and spacious position. They had seized the watering place, and it was in their possession. Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī had lined up horsemen and footsoldiers by it, and he had placed the archers in front of his men. He had formed a row with spears and shields, and helmets on their heads, and they had resolved not to let us reach the water.

In alarm we went to the Commander of the Faithful and told him about that, and he summoned Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Ṣūḥān.[62] He told him, "Go to Mu'āwiyah and say this: 'We have come to you like this but are reluctant to fight you before exhorting you by all possible means. But you have advanced your horsemen and footsoldiers against us and have attacked us before we attacked you. You began the fighting against us while we considered that we should hold back from

61. See p. 80, below, for Yazīd b. Hāni'.
62. Of the Banū 'Abd al-Qays/Rabī'ah (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

fighting you until we had appealed to you and put before you our arguments. And this is another thing that you have done—you have barred our men from the water, and they will not stop fighting unless they have drunk. So send to your men to allow mine access to the water and to hold off from fighting until we consider our dispute and what we have come for and what you have come for. But, if you prefer that we should give up what we came for and leave the men to fight at the water, so that only the victors drink, we will do so.' "

[When he heard that] Mu'āwiyah said to his men, "What do you think?" Al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah[63] answered, "Keep water from them, just as they kept it from 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him. They besieged him for forty days, allowing him neither the [3269] coolness of water nor the comfort of food. Make them die of thirst. May God make them die of thirst!" But 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "Let them get to the water, for surely the men will not thirst when you have drunk sufficiently. But, leaving aside the water, consider the dispute between you." Al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah repeated what he had said, and 'Abdallāh [b. Sa'd] b. Abī Sarḥ[64] said, "Keep them from the water until night, for if they cannot get to it they will go back. If they go back, their return will be a flight. Keep them from the water, and may God keep it from them on the day of resurrection."

Ṣa'ṣa'ah ('Alī's messenger) retorted, "God will keep it on the day of Resurrection only from the infidels, the wanton ones, and the drinkers of wine—like you and this wanton one (meaning al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah)!" They rushed at him, verbally abusing him and threating him, but Mu'āwiyah said, "Keep away from the man, for he is simply a messenger."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—'Abdallāh b. 'Awf b. al-Aḥmar: Ṣa'ṣa'ah came back to us and told us what he had said to Mu'āwiyah, what the answer had been, and how he had replied. We asked him how Mu'āwiyah had responded to that, and he said, "When I desired to leave his presence, I asked, 'How do you answer me?' and he answered, 'You will learn of my decision.' "

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63. See n. 16, above.

64. The name of 'Abdallāh's father, Sa'd, is missing from the text. It is generally accepted that this former governor of Egypt, who joined Mu'āwiyah upon the murder of 'Uthmān, died before Ṣiffīn and was not present there (see further *EI*², s.v.).

By God, the next thing we knew, Mu'āwiyah was sending troops of horsemen to Abū al-A'war to stop our men from getting to the water. 'Alī sent us against them, and we fired arrows and thrust with spears and then gave blows with the swords. We were granted victory over them, and the water came into our hands. We said, "By God we will not allow them to drink from it," but 'Alī sent to us, saying, "Take what water you need and return to your camp. Leave them alone, for God has given you victory over them because of their evil and oppression."

[3270] *'Alī Calls Mu'āwiyah to Obedience and Unity*

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah al-Ḥanafī: 'Alī said, "On this day you have been given victory through zeal." The men went back to their camp, and 'Alī remained two days, during which he and Mu'āwiyah did not exchange messengers. Then 'Alī summoned Bashīr b. 'Amr b. Miḥṣan al-Anṣārī,[65] Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī,[66] and Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Tamīmī and said, "Go to this man and summon him to God, to obedience, and to unity."[67] Shabath b. Rib'ī asked, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, will you not tempt him with an offer of an office of authority and a position in which he will have influence with you if he gives you the oath of allegiance?" 'Alī replied, "Go to him and argue with him and find out his opinion." This was at the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [May–June 657].

They came and entered in upon Mu'āwiyah, and Abū 'Amrah Bashīr b. 'Amr praised God and extolled him.[68] Then he said, "Oh Mu'āwiyah, this world is transitory, but to the next you are returning. God will assess you according to your deeds and recom-

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65. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Bašīr b. 'Amr.

66. Leader of the Banū Ḥimyar in al-Kūfah, said to be descended from the ancient south Arabian kings (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 119).

67. *Al-jamā'ah*. Literally, the word indicates "community" and has a positive value in contradistinction to the implications of *fitnah*. "Splitting the staff of the community" or "of the Muslims" (*shaqq 'aṣā al-jamā'ah/al-muslimīn*) is a charge frequently brought against rebels, and the year in which Mu'āwiyah ended the Fitnah and established his rule over all the lands of the Arabs is known in tradition as the "year of unity" (*'ām al-jamā'ah*).

68. *Ḥamida 'llāh wa-athnā 'alayhi*, a stereotyped formula used to open a religious exhortation.

pense you 'for what your hands have offered.'[69] I implore you by God not to split the unity of this community and not to shed its blood in internal conflict." But Mu'āwiyah cut him off, saying, "Have you not commended that to your master?" Abū 'Amrah replied, "My master is not like you. Of all of creation, he has the most right to this position of authority by virtue of his merit, his religion (*dīn*), his precedence in Islam, and his relationship with the Messenger of God." Mu'āwiyah asked, "What does he say?" and Abū 'Amrah replied, "He asks you to fear God and to respond to your cousin in acknowledging the truth to which he calls you. It [3271] is safer for you regarding your life in this world and better for you regarding your final end." Mu'āwiyah said, "And are we to make the blood of 'Uthmān count for naught? No, by God, never!"

Sa'īd b. Qays went to speak, but Shabath b. Rib'ī plunged in first, saying, after praising God and extolling him:

> Mu'āwiyah, I understood your reply to Ibn Miḥṣan, and, by God, we are not unaware of what you intend and seek. The only way you could find to misguide the people, pervert their desires, and get from them their obedience was by saying "Your Imam was killed unjustly, and we seek revenge for his blood!" Some stupid riffraff responded to it, but we know that you delayed in giving 'Uthmān help and that you desired his killing so that you might obtain this position that you now seek.[70] There is many a one who desires something and seeks it, but God prevents it by His power, and sometimes he who desires a thing is granted his wish or even more than it. But, by God, there would be no good for you in either of the cases. If you fail to attain what you hope for, then you will be the most wretched of the Arabs as a result, while, if you achieve what you desire, you will have achieved it only by deserving the flames of hell from

69. Qur'ān 22:10.

70. It was commonly held, by the opponents of the Umayyads, that the murder of 'Uthmān was the result of plotting by members of his (Umayyad) family who feared that the caliphate would pass into the hands of 'Alī if 'Uthmān were to die a natural death. The accusation that Mu'āwiyah deliberately delayed in responding to the appeals for help that were made to him by 'Uthmān is part of the argument in support of this theory (see further, N. A. Faris, "Development in Arab Historiography," 435–41).

your Lord. Fear God, oh Mu'āwiyah. Leave off what you are about, and do not contest authority with its rightful possessor.

Mu'āwiyah praised God and extolled him, and then he said, "The first thing in which I recognized your stupidity and low level of maturity was your interrupting the speech of this respected and high-born man, who is the leader of his people [i.e., Sa'īd b. Qays]. Then afterward you meddled with something about which you know nothing. You have lied and been base, you rude and uncouth
[3272] bedouin, in everything you have referred to and described. Get out of my presence, all of you! Between you and me there is nothing but the sword." He was furious.

The deputation departed with Shabath saying, "Do you threaten us with the sword? I swear by God that it will soon be raised against you." They came to 'Alī and told him what Mu'āwiyah had said. That was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (36, i.e., May–June 657).

Following this, 'Alī would give orders to certain individual leaders of high status, and a band of men would go out to fight in support while another man of rank, a follower of Mu'āwiyah, would come out against him with a group of his followers. The two of them would fight with horse- and footmen and then retire. They were reluctant to confront the Syrians with the whole body of the Iraqis because of the fear that it would entail mass slaughter and destruction.

At different times 'Alī sent out al-Ashtar, Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī,[71] Shabath b. Rib'ī, Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar,[72] Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī, Ziyād b. Khaṣafah al-Taymī,[73] Sa'īd b. Qays, Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī,[74] and Qays b. Sa'd.[75] The one who was sent out most often was al-Ashtar. Mu'āwiyah sent out against the men of Iraq, at

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71. The leader in al-Kūfah, in 51/670, of what is often seen as the first pro-'Alid anti-Umayyad movement after the death of 'Alī, and a rival of al-Ash'ath for the leadership of the Banū Kindah in al-Kūfah (see further *EI*², s.v. Ḥudjr b. 'Adī al-Kindī).

72. Of the Banū Shaybān/Bakr b. Wā'il (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḫālid b. al-Mu'ammar).

73. Of the Banū Taym Allāh/Bakr b. Wā'il (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ziyāda b. Ḥaṣafah).

74. See n.30.

75. Son of Sa'd b. 'Ubādah of the Banū Khazraj/Anṣār, he had been governor of Egypt for 'Alī; for an account of his removal from there and his joining 'Alī, see pp. 142–44, below (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Qais b. Sa'd).

various times, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid al-Makhzūmī,[76] Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī,[77] Dhū al-Kalā' al-Ḥimyarī,[78] 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,[79] Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ al-Kindī,[80] and Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Hamdānī.[81] They fought for the whole of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, sometimes twice in one day, at its beginning and at its end.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Āṣim al-Fā'ishī: One of my fellow tribesmen[82] told me that one day al-Ashtar went out to fight at Ṣiffīn among some men of the *qurrā'*[83] and some of the bedouin horsemen. "The batle became fierce, and there came out against us a man taller and mightier than whom I have rarely seen. He put out a challenge to single combat, and no one responded to him except al-Ashtar. They exchanged blows and al-Ashtar struck him and killed him. I swear by God that we had been fearful for al-Ashtar and asked him not to answer the challenge. When al-Ashtar killed him, one of the dead man's heralds proclaimed: [3273]

Oh Sahm, Sahm Ibn Abī al-'Ayzār,
the best whom we know of Zār.[84]

[Zārah is a clan of Azd.] And he said, "I swear by God that either I will kill your killer, or he will kill me." He came out and attacked al-Ashtar, who turned toward him and struck him, and suddenly

76. Son of the famous Khālid b. al-Walīd, settled in Ḥimṣ (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdarraḥmān b. Ḫālid).

77. Of Quraysh, he had been put in charge by Mu'āwiyah of the force that he sent, too late, to help 'Uthmān (see n.70; and see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

78. Leader of an important family of the Banū Ḥimyar settled in Ḥimṣ (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Samayfa' b. Nākūr; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 95). Delete text's "Ibn"?

79. A son of the second caliph (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

80. A rival of al-Ash'ath for the leadership of the Banū Kindah in al-Kūfah, he had subsequently settled in Ḥimṣ and supported Mu'āwiyah (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Šuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 101).

81. *WṢ*, 44, refers to him among a group of the leaders of Qaḥṭān and Yaman who were trusted by Mu'āwiyah. For his role in witnessing on behalf of Mu'āwiyah the "arbitration document" signed at Ṣiffīn, see p. 87, below.

82. There are two groups called Fā'ish among the Banū Hamdān.

83. The *qurrā'* are frequently referred to throughout this volume and in connection with certain other events of early Islamic history. Traditionally they have been associated with the Qur'ān and are often described as "Qur'ān reciters/readers." A number of scholars have recently been dissatisfied with that interpretation and have suggested others. For the literature, see *EI*², s.v. ḳurrā'; and Calder, "The *Qurrā'* and the Arabic Lexicographical Tradition," 297–307.

84. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Sahm b. Abī al-'Ayzār.

the man was down on the ground in front of al-Ashtar's horse, but his companions bore down on him and carried him off wounded. Abū Rufayqah al-Fahmī said, "This was a fire, but he came upon a whirlwind."[85]

The men fought for the whole of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, but when it was the end of the month they called on one another to refrain from fighting for the month of Muḥarram[86] and perhaps God would bring about peace or an agreement. So they refrained from fighting one another.

In this year 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib led the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*)[87] in accordance with 'Alī's appointment of him. That is what I was told by Aḥmad b. Thābit from someone who told him on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā, who had it from Abū Ma'shar.[88]

[3274] In this year, too, Qudāmah b. Maẓ'ūn[89] died, according to the claim of al-Wāqidī.[90]

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85. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Abū Rufayqah. *WṢ*, 196, has al-Sahmī instead of al-Fahmī.

86. Although our information is rather confused, the month of Muḥarram is said to have been one of the sacred months in pre-Islamic Arabia, during which fighting was prohibited. The Qur'ān thrice refers to the sacred month (in the singular) and once to there being four sacred months (see further *EI*², s.v. al-Muḥarram).

87. The annual complex of rituals performed at various places in and around Mecca during the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (see *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj).

88. Abū Ma'shar is a well-known collector of tradition who died in 171/787 (see *EI*², s.v.; *GAS*, I, 291–92). He is said to have composed a *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'* and it is apparently this work that Ṭabarī frequently cites with the *isnād* used here. Ṭabarī's immediate authority, al-Rāzī, is categorized as a liar (*kadhdhāb*) in Ibn Abī Ḥātim's *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl*, I/1, 44.

89. An early follower of the Prophet Muḥammad, from Banū Jumaḥ/Quraysh, who had refused to give allegiance to 'Alī (see Ibn al-Kalbi, index, s.v.).

90. On this scholar, d. 207/822–823, important especially in the field of the biography of the Prophet, see *EI*², s.v. al-Wāḳidī; *GAS*, I, 294–97.

The Events of the Year 37

(June 19, 657–June 8, 658)

The Truce between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah

In the first month of this year, al-Muḥarram, there was the truce between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah. Desiring a settlement of their differences, they agreed not to fight during the whole of the month.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf al-Azdī—Sa'd Abū al-Mujāhid al-Ṭā'ī—al-Muḥill b. Khalīfah al-Ṭā'ī: When 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah made a truce at Ṣiffīn messengers went back and forth regarding the matters in dispute between them, in the hope that a settlement could be reached. 'Alī sent 'Adī b. Ḥātim,[91] Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī,[92] Shabath b. Rib'ī, and Ziyād b. Khaṣafah to Mu'āwiyah, and, when they came to him, 'Adī b. Ḥātim praised God and said: "Now, we have come to invite you to some-

91. Of the Banū 'Adī b. Akhzam of Ṭayyi', he had been prominent in the affairs of the Banū Ṭayyi' in the lifetime of the Prophet and afterward (see *EI*², s.v.; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; for his struggle to carry the banner of Ṭayyi' at Ṣiffīn, see p. 26, below, and n. 113).

92. Of the Banū Hamdān, he had been involved in the anti-'Uthmān movement in al-Kūfah, and subsequently (see p. 102, below) governed Iṣbahān and Rayy for 'Alī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Yazīd b. Qais b. Tammām).

thing be means of which God will overcome our dissensions and reunite our community, avoid our shedding blood, give security to the roads, and settle discord. Your cousin ['Alī] is the lord of the Muslims, the most meritorious of them regarding his early acceptance of Islam, and the best of them in it respecting his deeds. The people have agreed upon him, and God has guided their decision. There only remains you and those with you (who have not accepted him). Stop,[93] Mu'āwiyah, lest God afflict you and your companions with a day like that of the Camel."

[3275] Mu'āwiyah replied: "It is as if you have come merely to threaten, not to reach a settlement. You could not be more wrong, 'Adī. I am the son of Ḥarb, by God, so do not try to frighten me with empty threats.[94] By God, you are one of those who raised a clamor against ['Uthmān] Ibn 'Affān, one of those who killed him, and I hope that you will be one of those whom God will kill for it. How wrong you are, 'Adī b. Ḥātim—you have resorted to force when you could not succeed by persuasion."[95]

Shabath b. Rib'ī and Ziyād b. Khaṣafah, both of them answering together, said, "We have come to you to make a settlement between us, but you have started to spout proverbs at us. Cease useless words and deeds, and agree to our proposal, which will benefit both us and you." Yazīd b. Qays spoke, saying:

> We came merely to convey to you the message we have been sent with and to take back whatever we hear from you. Nevertheless, we will not refrain from offering you sound advice or from telling you what we think provides a sure argument for us against you and by means of which you will return to unity and community. Our master is he whose excellence you and the Muslims have recognized, and I think it is obvious to you that the people of religion

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93. Translating the text's *fa'ntahi*; *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §2, suggests *fa'nbah*, sta' attento!

94. The name of Mu'āwiyah's grandfather, Ḥarb, means "war." For the expression *mā yuqa'qa'u lī bi-al-shinān* (literally, "a confused clattering noise will not be made to me with the old, worn-out water-skins"), see Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, II, 588; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *shann*.

95. *Qad ḥalabta bi-al-sā'idi al-ashadd* (literally, "you have milked with the strongest forearm"), see Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, I, 343; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥalaba*. *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §2, suggests it should be read *ḥalabtu*, "I have resorted to force only because persuasion was not successful."

> and merit will not put anyone on a level with ʻAlī or waiver in a choice between you. Fear God, Muʻāwiyah, and do not oppose ʻAlī, for we have never seen anyone more God-fearing in his deeds, more abstemious in the things of this world, or more complete in all the good qualities than he.

Muʻāwiyah praised God and extolled Him and then said, "You have summoned us to obedience and unity. As for the unity to which you have called us, we have it among ourselves, but, as for obedience to your lord, we will not conceive of it, for he has killed our caliph and shattered our unity, and he has given shelter to those from whom we seek vengeance and those who killed ʻUthmān. [3276]
Your master claims that he did not kill him, and we will not argue with him about that, but have you not seen those who killed our master, and do you not know that they are the companions of your master? Let him then deliver them up to us and let us kill them in revenge for ʻUthmān, and then we will respond to your call for obedience and unity."

Shabath said to him, "Would it make you happy, oh Muʻāwiyah, if you were given power over ʻAmmār [b. Yāsir],[96] to kill him?" He replied, "Why should I not? But, by God, if I were given power over Ibn Sumayyah [i.e., ʻAmmār], I would not kill him in revenge for ʻUthmān but [only] for Nātil the *mawlā* of ʻUthmān." Shabath said to him, "By the God of earth and of heaven, then you would not have acted equitably. No, by He other than Whom there is no god, you will not lay hands on ʻAmmār until the heads fall from the shoulders of the peoples and the vast earth becomes too narrow for you, for all its breadth."[97] Muʻāwiyah replied, "If it were so, then the earth would be more straitened for you."

When they had left Muʻāwiyah, he sent to Ziyād b. Khaṣafah al-Taymī and spoke to him privately. After praising God and extolling Him, he said, "Brother of Rabīʻah! ʻAlī has severed our ties of kinship and given shelter to those who killed our lord. I am asking for help against him from you with your family and clan. I give you a binding oath in the name of God that, if I achieve the victory, I will put you in charge of whichever of the two garrison towns you desire."

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96. A Qurashī companion of the Prophet (see *EI*², s.v.; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.); for his death, see p. 64, below; Lecker, "Ḥudhayfa."
97. See Qur'ān 9:118.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sa'd Abū al-Mujāhid—al-Muḥill b. Khalīfah: I heard Ziyād b. Khaṣafah reporting this event, and he said: When Mu'āwiyah had finished, I praised God and extolled Him and then I said, "'I have a clear proof from my Lord,'[98] and 'with what
[3277] He has graciously given me I will not help the evildoers.'"[99] Then I arose, and Mu'āwiyah said to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, who was sitting by his side, "No one of us ever argues with one of them but that they always assent to something good. What is the matter with them, may God cut them off with evil? It is as if their hearts were the heart of one man."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid al-Azdī—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd Abū al-Kunūd: Mu'āwiyah sent Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī, Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ, and Ma'n b. Yazīd b. al-Akhnas[100] to 'Alī. They went in unto him, I being present. Ḥabīb praised God and extolled Him and then said: "'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him, was a caliph guided by God (*khalīfah mahdī*), who acted according to the Book of God and constantly busied himself with God's commands. You found his life a burden and could not wait for his death, and so you attacked and killed him. If you claim that you did not, then hand over to us the killers of 'Uthmān so that we can kill them in recompense. Then relinquish authority over the people: That will be a matter for consultation (*shūrā*)[101] among them, and they will give authority over them to whomsoever they agree on."

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said to him, "Who are you, you wretch, to tell me to relinquish authority? Keep silent, for it is no business of yours, and you are not fit for it." Ḥabīb arose and said, "By God, when you see me you will wish that you had not." 'Alī said, "What are you, even though you rally your horsemen and your foot-soldiers![102] May God not show mercy to you even if you show mercy

98. Qur'ān 6:57.

99. Qur'ān 28:17.

100. Of the Banū Sulaym (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, esp. 70–72).

101. The idea that the choice of caliph (sometimes even of governor) should result from a process of consultation is of frequent occurrence in early Islam, but only rarely put into practice; see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, index, s.v. *shūrā*.

102. See Qur'ān 17:64 (God addressing Satan!)

to me![103] Is it contempt and evil (that you want)? Go away, and do whatever you want." Shuraḥbil b. al-Simṭ said, "If I were to say anything to you, by my life it would just be like what my companion has said. Do you have any answer other than that which you gave him?"

'Alī said, "Yes, for you and your companion (i.e., Ma'n) I have a different answer." He praised God and extolled Him, and then said:[104] [3278]

> God sent Muḥammad with the truth and through him provided deliverance from error, salvation from destruction, and the overcoming of division. Then God took him to Himself after he had carried out his mission. The people appointed Abū Bakr as caliph, and Abū Bakr appointed 'Umar after him, and those two conducted themselves well and led the community with justice. We resented their ruling over us, the family of the Messenger of God, but we excused them for that. Then 'Uthmān ruled and did things that the people found reprehensible, so that they came to him and killed him. Afterward they came to me, who was keeping out of their concerns, and they asked me to accept the oath of allegiance. I refused, but they insisted and said that the community would never find anyone acceptable but me and that, if I did not, they were afraid that division would result. So I accepted the oath of allegiance from them. But then I was surprised to find the dissension of two of those who had given me the oath of allegiance[105] and

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103. *Lā abqā 'llāhu 'alayka in abqayta 'alayya* (the last word has been supplied by the editor); for this saying, uttered derisively to somebody who affects to be showing mercy because unable to take his revenge, see Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, II, 527; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. form IV of *baqiya*. The significance of the next two words, *a-ḥuqratan wa-saw'an* (or *sū'an*), is not at all clear. *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §4, suggests reading *khufrah* (= *dhimmah*) for *ḥuqrah* and the translation "do you with to profit from your immunity [as a messenger] to say evil things?" The parallel passage at *WṢ*, 200, does not include these words.

104. 'Alī's speech resuming the early history of the caliphate from a particular viewpoint can be seen as an example of a *topos*; for another example, see, e.g., Ṭabarī, II, 515–18. In the present version 'Uthmān's alleged misdeeds are not elaborated but others often list them.

105. That is, the companions Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, who are widely reported to have rendered allegiance to 'Alī but then rebelled against him when he would not accede to their demands for important governorships.

> the opposition of Mu'āwiyah, to whom God had given neither precedence in accepting the religion nor forebears of good character in Islam. He is one of those who were set free (*ṭalīq*) by the Prophet, and the son of one of them, a member of those "parties" that persisted in enmity to God, His Prophet, and the Muslims, both he and his father, until they reluctantly entered Islam.[106] But it is a surprise that you take part in his opposition and are led by him, abandoning the family of your Prophet, against which you
> [3279] must not show discord and opposition nor place any one on the same level. I call you to the Book of God, the precedent (*sunnah*) of His Prophet, the suppression of what is false, and putting into practice the signs of the religion. That is what I have to say, and I ask God's pardon for me and for you and for every Believer, male and female, and every Muslim, male and female."

Shuraḥbīl and Ma'n both said, "Testify that 'Uthmān was killed unjustly." 'Alī, however, answered, "I will not say either that he was killed unjustly or that his killing was justified, because he was unjust himself." They replied, "Whoever does not assert that 'Uthmān was killed unjustly, we dissociate ourselves from him," and they got up and left. 'Alī said, " 'You will not make the dead hear, you will not make the deaf hearken to the call when they turn away, going back, and you will not guide the blind from going astray. You will only make those who believe in our signs give ear, for they are the Muslims.' "[107] Then he went to his supporters and said, "Do not let these be more earnest in their error than you are in your truth and obedience to your Lord."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ja'far b. Ḥudhayfah, of the family of 'Āmir b. Juwayn: [Qays b.] 'Ā'idh b. Qays al-Ḥizmirī[108] contested

106. The derogatory references are to Mu'āwiyah as (a) one of those liable to enslavement by the Prophet when he conquered Mecca, but allowed to go free by him (*al-ṭulaqā'*), and (b) one of the "parties" or "confederates" (*aḥzāb*) who attacked the Prophet and his followers in Medina at the time of the "Trench" in A.H. 5 (Qur'ān, *sūrah* 33, *Sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, is said to allude to this event).

107. Qur'ān 27:80–81.

108. For the likely need to insert "Qays b." before the name of 'Ā'idh b. Qays, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Qais b. 'Ā'id b. Qais, although, as is indicated there, some sources have another son of 'Ā'idh b. Qays as the one who contested the honor of the banner with 'Adī b. Ḥātim. The clan of this Qays, the Banū Ḥizmir, was part of the tribe of Ṭayyi', on which see *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭaiy.

with 'Adī b. Ḥātim[109] for the privilege of carrying the banner at Ṣiffīn. Banū Ḥizmir were more numerous than Banū 'Adī the clan of Ḥātim. 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah al-Ṭā'ī al-Bawlānī[110] rushed up to the Banū Ḥizmir in the presence of 'Alī and said:

> Oh Banū Ḥizmir do you dare to compete with 'Adī? Is there one among you like 'Adī or any ancestor of yours like the father of 'Adī? Was 'Adī not the one who protected the waterskin and defended the water on a "day of want"?[111] Is he not the son of the "lord of the fourth" and of "the generous one of the Arabs"?[112] Is he not the son of the man who allowed his wealth to be plundered and of the defender of his client (*jār*)? Is he not the one who never acted [3280] perfidiously, never wickedly, never ignorantly, never avariciously, never ungratefully, and never cowardly? Come up with one of your ancestors who may be compared with his father, or one of you who may be compared with him. Is he not the most meritorious of you in Islam, the leader of your delegation to the Prophet, and your leader at the battles of al-Nukhaylah, al-Qādisiyyah, al-Madā'in, Jalūlā'

109. On whom, see *EI*². Son of the renowned pre-Islamic poet of the Banū Ṭayyi', Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī, his clan was Banū 'Adī b. Rabī'ah b. Jarwal of Ṭayyi'.

110. For this poet of the Banū Ṭayyi', see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Ḫalīfah.

111. *Yawm rawiyyah*. Possibly this refers to the battle "by the water" recounted previously, which is also alluded to in the first line of the poem of 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah later.

112. 'Adī's father, the poet Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī, was famed for his generosity, the subject of legend and proverb (see *EI*², s.v. Ḥātim). *Ann.* 37 A.H., §5, translates "lord of the fourth" (*dhū a'l-mirbā'*) as "quello dal quarto del bottino," which may well be correct. Ḥātim was famous for allowing his own booty to be taken by others; that is, probably the substance of "the man who allowed his wealth to be plundered" (*al-munhibu mālahu*), later. According to the notice of Ḥātim in Ibn Qutaybah's *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, "whenever he acquired booty, he allowed it to be plundered, and whenever he was asked for anything, he gave it" (*wa-idhā ghanima anhaba wa-idhā su'ila wahaba*). It seems likely that Ṭabarī's phrases referring to Ḥātim are meant to be understood generally and not as allusions to any specific instance—defense of the *jār* was also a typical virtue of the Arab hero.

> al-Waqī'ah, Nihāwand, and Tustar?[113] What do you have in common with him? By God, there is no other of your people who seeks what you seek!

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said to him, "That is enough, Ibn Khalīfah! Come to me, ye people, and gather around me all of Ṭayyi'!" When they had come together, 'Alī asked, "Who was your chief in these battles?" Ṭayyi' replied, "'Adī." Ibn Khalīfah said, "Ask them, Oh Commander of the Faithful, if they are not satisfied to give up the leadership to 'Adī." 'Alī asked them, and they said that they were. He then said to them, "Of all of you, 'Adī has the best claim to the banner—give it up to him." Then, because Banū al-Ḥizmir caused a disturbance, he said, "In my view, he ('Adī) has been your chief in the past and none of his people, apart from you, is against giving it up to him. Therefore, I follow the majority in that." And 'Adī took the banner.

Later, at the time of Ḥujr b. 'Adī,[114] 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah was sought so that he might be sent together with Ḥujr [as a prisoner to Mu'āwiyah], for he was one of the supporters of Ḥujr. Then he was exiled to the region of the two hills (al-Jabalān). 'Adī [b. Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī] had given him cause to hope that he would have Ibn Khalīfah's exile revoked and that he would seek an amnesty for him, but when that took a long time 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah said:

You forget my deeds at the Battle of the Watering Place, and the lances
shattering against their shoulders at Ṣiffīn.
May his Lord requite 'Adī b. Ḥātim for me,
[3281] for having abandoned me and forsaken me, an ample requital.

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113. 'Adī, like his father, was originally a Christian, but he accepted Islam toward the end of the Prophet's life and led the Banū Ṭayyi' into Islam. The battles named here are famous landmarks in the Arab conquest of Iraq and southwest Iran. See further *EI*[2] s.v. 'Adī.

114. That is, at the time of Ḥujr's revolt in al-Kūfah in 51/670 (see n. 71, above). The subsequent mention of "the two hills" (al-Jabalān) is a reference to two hills (Ajā' and Salmā) in the tribal lands of the Banū Ṭayyi' in northern Arabia, the region now known as Jabal Shammār (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. Jabalān). See also n. 229, below.

115. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *ṭ-l-b* with *fī*.

Do you forget, oh son of Ḥātim, my reckless bravery
on that evening when your company (*'adī*) was not enough to outdo Ḥizmir?
But I protected you against the gang until they let up,
and I was the fierce and courageous adversary.
They turned tail and could not stand against me, as if
they thought me a lion lurking among the reeds.
I gave you aid when those who were near moved away and
those farther off held themselves apart. On me alone depended the victory.
My reward is to be stripped of everything among you,
dragged along,[116] brought to degradation, and made captive.
How many times you have promised to me that you would bring me back!
You have not achieved with your promise anything[117] for me.[118]

The Organization of the Military Units (Katā'ib) *and Preparation of the Troops for Battle*

According to Abū Mikhnaf: The men waited until the end of Muḥarram drew nigh, and then 'Alī ordered Marthad b. al-Ḥārith al-Jushamī[119] to call out to the Syrians at sunset: "The Commander of the Faithful announces to you: 'I have given you time so that you might revert to the truth and turn to it in repentance. I have [3282] argued against you with the Book of God and have called you to it, but you have not turned away from oppression or responded to truth. Now I have cast back 'to you [the covenant between us] in a just manner, for God does not love the faithless.' "[120]

The Syrians rushed anxiously to their commanders and leaders, and Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ went out among the men, organizing them in fighting units and preparing them and encouraging

116. The ms. and Ibn al-Athīr have *saḥīban*, which the editor has emended to *sajīnan*, "imprisoned." See, however, *Gloss.*, s.v. *s-ḥ-b*, which has *saḥīb* as the equivalent of *masḥūb*.

117. *Ḥabtar*, literally, "a fox"; it also can mean "short" (see *LA*, s.v.).

118. For a longer quotation of the poem from which these verses come and the story of the events surrounding their composition, see Ṭabarī, II, 148 l.1–155 l.1.

119. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Marthad b. al-Ḥārith al-Jushamī.

120. See Qur'ān 8:58 (substituting *nabadhtu ilaykum* for Qur'ānic *fa'nbidh ilayhim*).

them to fight.[121] 'Alī, too, spent the entire night preparing his men, forming the units, and going around inciting the soldiers.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab al-Azdī—his father: On every occasion on which we confronted an enemy 'Alī would command us in these words: "Do not fight them unless they attack you first. You, praise be to God, have a good case and holding back from fighting them until they attack will strengthen it. If you fight them and defeat them, do not kill the fugitives, do not finish off the wounded, do not uncover their nakedness, and do not mutilate the slain.[122] If you reach their abodes, do not tear aside a curtain, enter a dwelling without permission, or seize any of their property apart from what you find in the army camp. Do not do harm against any woman, even if they utter abuse against your honor and vilify your leaders and righteous men, for women are weak of body and soul."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ismā'īl b. Yazīd—Abū Ṣādiq—al-Ḥaḍramī: I heard 'Alī encouraging the men at three battlefields—Ṣiffīn, the Camel, and the Canal (*yawm al-nahr*)[123]—in these words: "Servants of God! Fear God, cast down your gaze,
[3283] lower your voices, keep your speech short, accustom yourselves to dismounting to fight, assaulting and being assaulted, individual combat, contention, fighting with swords and staves, wrestling, biting, and grappling. 'Stand firm and frequently mention the name of God so that you might prosper.'[124] 'And do not contend one with another and so lose courage and your strength expire; be steadfast, for God is with the steadfast.'[125] Oh God! Inspire them with steadfastness, send down victory to them, and make great their reward." The next morning 'Alī arose and appointed his commanders over the right and left wings and over the footsoldiers and horsemen.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī: 'Alī sent out al-Ashtar over the Kūfan cavalry and Sahl b. Ḥunayf[126] over the

121. Literally, "they lit the fires," but perhaps to be understood metaphorically.
122. *Lā tamthulū bi-qatīlin*; the verb *mathala* and the noun *muthlah* are used with a variety of related meanings in the context of the punishment and treatment of enemies; because here it refers to the slain, "mutilation" seems to fit best.
123. For the third of these "battles" (*yawm al-nahr*), see pp. 130–34, below.
124. Qur'ān 8:45.
125. Qur'ān 8:46
126. A Companion of the Prophet from the Banū Aws/Anṣār (see Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 39–41; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

Baṣran; he put 'Ammār b. Yāsir over the Kūfan infantry and Qays b. Sa'd over the Baṣran; Hāshim b. 'Utbah carried 'Alī's banner, and Mis'ar b. Fadakī al-Tamīmī[127] led the Baṣran *qurrā'*. The Kūfans rallied to 'Abdallāh b. Budayl[128] and 'Ammār b. Yāsir.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Jābir al-Azdī—al-Qāsim, the client (*mawlā*) of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah: Mu'āwiyah sent Dhū al-Kalā' al-Ḥimyarī out over his right wing and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī over his left. At the time of his advance from Damascus, Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, who was in command of the horsemen of Damascus, had charge of the vanguard, while 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ commanded the Syrian horsemen generally. Muslim b. 'Uqbah al-Murrī[129] led the infantry of Damascus, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays[130] the infantry as a whole. Some of the Syrians gave the oath of allegiance to Mu'āwiyah to the death and bound their legs together with turbans (to prevent flight). Those who did so made up five rows. The Syrians who went out to fight formed ten rows, while the men of Iraq went out to fight in eleven.

On the first day of Ṣiffīn, when the men went out and fought, [3284]
al-Ashtar commanded those of the Kūfans who took part and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah commanded the Syrians. That was a Wednesday. A fierce battle took place for most of the day, and then both sides fell back, with honors even.

Hāshim b. 'Utbah then went out with a numerous and well-equipped force of horsemen and footsoldiers, and Abū al-A'war moved out to oppose him. They fought for that day, the horsemen attacking the horsemen and the footsoldiers the footsoldiers. They returned having held each other in check.

On the third day 'Ammār b. Yāsir went out, and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ opposed him. One of the fiercest battles ever was waged, and 'Ammār began proclaiming, "Men of Iraq, do you wish to look on one who showed enmity to God and His Messenger and struggled against them, one who oppressed the Muslims and gave support to the

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127. Subsequently a leader of the Baṣran Khārijites (see pp. 79, 118, below).

128. Of the Banū Khuzā'a (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.); the context and a subsequent variant indicate that the *qurrā'* of the Kūfans rallied to him.

129. Of the Banū Murra of Ghaṭafān, he subsequently led the army sent by the caliph Yazīd to attack Medina (see *EI*², s.v.; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

130. Of the Banū Fihr/Quraysh, he subsequently played a leading role in the events of the second *fitnah* (see *EI*², s.v.; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

polytheists? But, when he saw that God would make mighty His religion and grant victory to His Messenger, he went to the Prophet and accepted Islam, it seems to us, out of fear and not from desire. Then God took to Himself His Messenger and, by God, this man continued to be known for enmity to the Muslim and forbearance to the evildoer. So hold firm against him and fight him, for he will extinguish God's light[131] and give help to His enemies."

With 'Ammār was Ziyād b. al-Naḍr, who had command of the horsemen. 'Ammār ordered him to make an attack with them. He did so, but the men fought against him and held firm, so 'Ammār reinforced the attack with the footsoldiers and caused 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to abandon his position. At that time Ziyād b. al-Naḍr met a uterine brother of his in single combat. The man's name was 'Amr b.
[3285] Mu'āwiyah b. al-Muntafiq b. 'Āmir b. 'Uqayl, and his and Ziyād's mother was one of the children of Yazīd.[132] When they met to fight, they recognized one another and desisted. Then each of them turned away from the other, and the forces retired.

On the following day Muḥammad b. 'Alī[133] and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar went out to fight each other with two strong detachments and fought extremely fiercely. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar then sent to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, inviting him to single combat, and he agreed. He went out on foot, but the Commander of the Faithful ['Alī] saw him and asked who the two challengers were. When he was told that they were Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar, he urged on his mount and called to Muḥammad, who waited for him. 'Alī then ordered his son to hold fast his horse. When he had taken hold of it, 'Alī walked toward 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar on foot. He said to him, "I will take you on in in single combat—come on!" But Ibn 'Umar replied, "I have no desire to meet you in combat." 'Alī insisted, but Ibn 'Umar remained adamant. When he withdrew Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah began saying to his father: "Oh my father, why did you stop me from facing him in single combat? By God, if you had

131. Possibly alluding to the Qur'ān, 9:32, 61:8.

132. 'Amr was active against the Byzantines under Mu'āwiyah and later governed Ahwāz for him; his mother was a certain Unāmah or Umaymah, daughter of Yazīd b. 'Abd b. al-Dayyān of the Bal-Ḥārith/Madhḥij (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiyah b. al-Muntafiq).

133. For this son of 'Alī by a woman of the tribe of Ḥanīfah, see *EI*², s.v. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.

left me alone I hope that I would have killed him." 'Alī replied, "If you had fought him, then I hope you would have killed him, but I was not sure that he would not have killed you." His son said: "Oh my father, would you have taken on this evildoer in single combat? By God, if his father had invited you to single combat I would have wished for you to avoid it."[134] But 'Alī answered, "Oh my son, speak nothing but good of his father." The forces then separated and retired.

On the fifth day 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah went out and fought together fiercely. Ibn 'Abbās drew near al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah, who began to denigrate the descendants of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib [3286]
and to say, "Oh Ibn 'Abbās, you have severed the ties of kinship and killed your imām. How do you think God will treat you? You will not be given what you seek nor attain what you hope for. If He wills it, God will destroy you and secure victory over you." Ibn 'Abbās sent, calling him to single combat, but he refused. On that day Ibn 'Abbās fought fiercely and personally engaged the Syrian forces.

Then Qays b. Sa'd al-Anṣārī and Dhū al-Kalā' al-Ḥimyarī came out, fought fiercely, and retired. That was the sixth day.

Al-Ashtar came out and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah again met him on the seventh day. They fought fiercely and then retired at noon, neither of them being victorious. That was Tuesday.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī—Zayd b. Wahb: 'Alī said, "For how long will we not commit our whole force against them?" On Tuesday evening[135] after the afternoon prayer he stood among his men and said: "Praise be to God. What He has destroyed will not be firmly established, and what He has firmly established the destroyers will not destroy. If He wished, no two of His creatures would differ, the community would not dispute

134. That is, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah regarded the second caliph, 'Umar, as unworthy to fight against 'Alī in single combat.

135. Literally, "on the evening of Tuesday, night of Wednesday"; it should be remembered that in the lunar calendar a day ends and begins at sunset, not midnight; accordingly the presunset period is counted to one day and the immediately following night to the next day.

about any of His affairs, and the second best[136] would not fail to acknowledge the merit of the best. But the divine decrees have herded us and these people and entangled us together, in this place, and our Lord sees and hears us. If God wished He would hasten the retribution and alter things so that He would give the lie to the evildoer and make known the outcome of the truth.[137] But He has made this world the place for deeds and the next world, with Him, 'the place of stability' 'so that He might requite those who have done evil for what they have done and reward those who have done good with a good outcome.'[138] Tomorrow you will meet the
[3287] enemy, so lengthen the night standing in prayer, make abundant recitation of the Qur'ān, and ask God for help and steadfastness. Meet them with eagerness and resoluteness and be righteous!" He departed and the men rushed for their swords, lances, and arrows to ensure that they were in order. Ka'b b. Ju'ayl al-Taghlabī[139] passed them, saying:

The community has entered upon a strange matter,
and the kingship tomorrow is gathered up for whoever wins it.
I have said something true and not false:
Tomorrow the distinguished ones of the Arabs will perish.

'Alī spent the whole of that night preparing the men. When morning came, he advanced with them while Mu'āwiyah came to meet him with the Syrians. 'Alī set about asking, "Who is this tribe?" and "Who is this tribe?" And the genealogy of the tribes of the Syrians was explained to him. When he knew who they were and saw their positions, he said to the Azd (on his own side), "Take care of the Azd for me," and to the Khath'am, "Take care of the Khath'am for me." He asked each tribe among the men of Iraq to

136. *Al-mafḍūl*, literally, "the one who is surpassed." The word was a technical term in discussions about the imamate: The Zaydiyyah sect of the Shī'a regarded it as legitimate to recognize the imamate of the "second best" if the man who was rightfully the imam failed to assert his rights. This enabled them to recognize Abū Bakr and 'Umar as legitimate even though 'Alī, according to the Shī'a, was the rightful imam following the Prophet.

137. Cairo reads: *wa-ya'lamu al-ḥaqqu ayna maṣīruhu* "and the truth will know its outcome" (?).

138. See Qur'ān 40:40, 53:31.

139. For this poet of the Banū Taghlib, see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitab al-Aghānī*, V, 13 and passim; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ka'b b. Ǧu'ail.

take care of its counterpart among the Syrians, and if there was a tribe of whom there were none in Syria he would assign it against another of whom there were members among the Syrians but not among the Iraqis. For example, he assigned those of his men of Banū Bajīlah, of whom there was only a small number in Syria, to face Lakhm.

On Wednesday the men fought with one another and strove fiercely for the whole day. At evening they withdrew, neither side victorious, and on Thursday morning 'Alī led the prayer while it was still dark. [3288]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab al-Azdī—his father. I never saw 'Alī lead the prayer of daybreak while it was still dark at an earlier time than he did on that day.[140] Then he led his men out against the Syrians, advancing toward them and taking the initiative against them. When they realized that he had advanced toward them, they came to meet him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī: 'Alī went out to them on Wednesday morning, met them, and said,

> Oh God, Lord of the vault raised aloft,[141] maintained and held back, which You made as a place for the passing away of night and day, and in which You put the course of the sun and the moon and the stations of the stars, and the inhabitants of which You made a host of angels who never weary[142] of worship; and Lord of this earth that You made as a fixed place for mankind,[143] creatures great and small, and the innumerable invisible and visible things of Your great creation; and Lord of the ships that navigate the sea with goods useful for men;[144] and Lord of the clouds forced to go between the heavens and the earth; and Lord of the

140. *Mā... ghallasa bi l-ṣalāt ashadda min taghlīsihi yawma'idhin. Taghlīs* is a technical term in *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* discussions about the correct time for the dawn prayer (*ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* or *ṣalāt al-fajr*). For references, see *EI²*, s.v. Mīḳāt; and Wensinck et al., *Concordances*, s.v. *gh-l-s*. The Prophet and a number of his Companions are said to have made *taghlīs bi-al-ṣalāt*.

141. See Qur'ān 52:5. For the following speech, see *SNB*, IX, 301ff.

142. See Qur'ān 41.37.

143. See Qur'ān 40:64, 55:10.

144. Qur'ān 2:164.

> swarming sea[145] encircling the earth; and Lord of the mighty-headed mountains that You made as pegs for the earth[146] and as a benefit for creation; if You give us victory over our enemy, remove oppression from us, and guide us to the right; but if You give them victory over us, then recompense me with martyrdom and preserve the remnant of my companions from the *fitnah*.[147]

On Wednesday the men crowded together and fought one of the fiercest battles until night, desisting from one another only for prayer. The number of those slain on both sides was great, and when
[3289] they separated at night neither side was victorious. The next day 'Alī led his men in prayer early on Thursday morning, praying extremely early, while it was still dark. He then took the initiative from the Syrians by going out to fight, but when they saw that he had set out toward them they went out to face him. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl was in command of 'Alī's right wing and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās of his left. The *qurrā'* of the Iraqis were with three individuals—'Ammār b. Yāsir, Qays b. Sa'd, and 'Abdallāh b. Budayl—while the other men were positioned according to their banners and stations. 'Alī himself was in the center among the men of Medina, between the Kūfans and the Baṣrans. Most of the men of Medina with him were the Anṣār,[148] but there was also a good number of Khuzā'ah, Kinānah, and other people of Medina with him.

'Alī advanced with his men, while Mu'āwiyah erected a large dome-shaped tent over which he had cast hangings of cloth.[149] Most of the Syrians gave him the oath of allegiance that they would fight

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145. Qur'ān 52:6.

146. See Qur'ān 78:7, 79:32–33.

147. The idea of *fitnah* is often referred to in this volume and also in the Qur'ān and much early Muslim literature. It is a word with a variety of connotations, according to context. Often used to refer to periods of "civil war" among the Muslims, it also frequently implies "trial," "test," "temptation," and "calamity," sometimes with apocalyptic associations. See *EI*², s.v.

148. The name given in tradition to those members of the Medinese clans of Aws and Khazraj who "helped" (*n-ṣ-r*) Muḥammad when he came to Medina from Mecca, and hence to the Aws and Khazraj in general. See *EI*², s.v.

149. *Al-karābīs*, pl. of *kirbās*. The Arabic lexicographical tradition defines it as a "coarse garment" or "piece of cloth" and derives it from Persian *karvās*; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., draws attention to Hebrew *karpas* (Esther 1:6. "[in the court of the garden of the king's palace were] white, green and blue *hangings*"), Greek *karpasos*, and Latin *carbasus*. See Sanskrit *kārpāsa*, "cotton."

to the death, and he sent out the cavalry of Damascus to surround his tent. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl advanced with 'Alī's right wing against Ḥabīb b. Maslamah and constantly harried him and drove back his cavalry from the left wing of Mu'āwiyah until he had forced them back to Mu'āwiyah's tent about noon.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī: Ibn Budayl stood among his men and said, "Mu'āwiyah has claimed what he has no right to and has contested this affair with someone not to be compared with him. He has used futile argument to attempt to refute the truth[150] and has attacked you with the bedouins and confederates.[151] He has made error seem good to them and sowed the seeds of *fitnah* in their hearts. He has deceived them in this matter and increased the filth in which they were already [3290] plunged.[152] But you have a light from your Lord and a clear proof.[153] Fight the crude tyrants and do not fear them. How can you fear them when you have in your hands the Book of God in purity and reverence? 'Do you fear them? It is more fitting that you should fear God if you are Believers. Fight them, and God will punish them at your hands and humiliate them. He will give you victory over them and restore to health the hearts of a people who believe.'[154] We have fought against them with the Prophet, and now we do so again. By God, they are not now any more God-fearing, pure or right guided. Stand against your enemy, and may God give you His blessing!" And he and his men fought bravely.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Amrah al-Anṣārī—his father and a client (*mawlā*) of his: At Ṣiffīn 'Alī incited his men as follows:

> "God has guided you to a commerce that will deliver you from a bitter punishment"[155] and bring you to the verge of good: "belief in God and His Messenger, and *jihād* in the path of God,"[156] may His name be exalted. He has made His reward a pardon of sin "and blessed abodes in the gardens

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150. See Qur'ān 18:56, 40:5.
151. See Qur'ān 33:20; see n. 106, above.
152. See Qur'ān 9:125.
153. See Qur'ān 39:22.
154. Qur'ān 9:13–14.
155. Qur'ān 61:10.
156. Qur'ān 61:11.

of Eden."[157] Then He has informed you that He "loves those who fight in His path in lines as if they were a tightly compact building"[158] so make your lines even like a tightly compact building. Advance the armed man and hold back the unarmed, and grit your teeth, for it makes the swords rebound from the heads. Twist the ends of the lances, for it better preserves the points. Avert your gaze, for that is more calming for the soul and more soothing for the heart. Deaden your voices, for that is better for driving out cow-
[3291] ardice and more dignified. As for your banners, neither lower them nor abandon them, and make sure they stay in the hands of the valiant men among you. Those who defend what it is their duty to defend and are steadfast in protecting what it is obligatory for them to protect, they are the guardians who surround their banners and protect them, fighting on both sides of them, behind and in front of them, and not abandoning them. A man has given satisfaction who strikes his opponent hard—may God have mercy on you—and puts his brother on a level with himself, and does not leave his opponent to his brother, so as to acquire blame and become base. And why is it that he should not act thus, one man fighting two opponents while another who has held back his hand leaves his opponent to confront his brother, he himself fleeing or standing looking on? Whoever does that, God hates him. So do not expose yourselves to the hatred of God, praise be to Him, for your place of return is only to God.[159] God, the mightiest of those who speak, said to a people, "Flight will not avail you if you flee from death or slaying; in that case you will be allowed to enjoy only a little time."[160] And I swear by God that, if you escape from the sword of this world, you will not escape from that of the next. Ask for the assistance of sincerity and steadfastness, for after steadfastness God sends down the victory.

157. Qur'ān 61:12.
158. Qur'ān 61:4.
159. See Qur'ān 40:43.
160. Qur'ān 33:16.

The Intensity of the Fighting

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Rawq al-Hamdānī: Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī encouraged 'Alī's men to fight by saying:

> The perfect Muslim[161] is he whose religion and understanding are free from error. By God, these, our enemy, do not fight us to reestablish a religion that they think we have [3292] brought to naught and to restore a truth that they think we have destroyed. They are fighting us only for this world, that they may be tyrants and kings in it. If they were to triumph over you—and may God not show them victory or enjoyment—they would appoint over you[162] the likes of Sa'īd, al-Walīd, and the stupid and misguided 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir.[163] Each of them made gifts[164] in his court of sums equivalent to his own blood money and that of his father and grandfather, saying, "This is mine, and I do no wrong (in making such a gift)"—as if he had merely been given what he had inherited from his father and mother. In fact, that is God's property that He has granted to us as spoils, won by our swords and our lances. Servants of God, fight those evil people who rule and judge by other than what God has revealed, and do not let any reproach divert you in your *jihād* against them. If they have the victory over you, they will pervert your religion and your life in this world. They are those whom you have known and experienced, and I swear by God that until now they have merely become more evil.

'Abdallāh b. Budayl fought hard (against the Syrians) with the right wing and got as far as the tent of Mu'āwiyah. Those who had sworn the latter allegiance to the death then came to Mu'āwiyah,

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161. *Al-muslim al-salīm*; see Qur'ān 26:89.

162. *Lazimūkum bi-*; *WS*, 247; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, III, 246, have *alzamūkum*.

163. The references are presumably to Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣi (*EI*[1], s.v.), al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah (see n. 16 above), and 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz (*EI*[2], s.v.); all had been governors in al-Kūfah or al-Baṣrah.

164. *Yujīzu . . . bi*; Cairo has *yukhbiru . . . bi*; *WṢ*, 247, has *yuḥaddithu . . . bi*. The passage seems a little obscure. Presumably Yazīd b. Qays is accusing these governors of diverting for their own purposes funds that rightfully belonged to the Arab Muslims as a whole.

and he ordered them to resist Ibn Budayl and 'Alī's right wing. He sent to Ḥabīb b. Maslamah, who was with his own left wing, and, with those men and the others who were with himself, he (Ḥabīb) attacked our right and defeated them. The men of Iraq on the right wing were routed, and eventually only Ibn Budayl and 200 or 300 of the *qurrā'* were left (there), fighting back to back. 'Alī's men panicked, but he ordered Sahl b. Ḥunayf to advance with those Medinans who were with him. A large group of the Syrians came to meet them and attacked them, forcing them to join the men of
[3293] the right. In the right wing, as far as the place where 'Alī was in the center, were the men of the Yemen,[165] and when they were put to flight[166] the rout was effective as far as 'Alī, who moved back unhurriedly on foot toward the left wing. The Muḍar of the left wing abandoned him while the Rabī'ah held firm.[167]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī: 'Alī, together with his sons, passed by, going toward the left wing. I could see the arrows barely missing him, but each one of his sons was careful to protect (his father) with his own self. When that happened, 'Alī would go ahead and put himself between the Syrians and his son, taking his hand and placing him in front of him or behind.[168] Aḥmar, a *mawlā* of Abū Sufyān[169] or of 'Uthmān or another of the Umayyad family, saw him and swore:[170] "By the Lord of the Ka'bah! May God kill me if I do not either kill you or you kill me." He moved toward 'Alī, but Kaysān,[171] the *mawlā* of 'Alī, attacked him. The two of them exchanged blows, and the *mawlā* of the Umayyads killed Kaysān. 'Alī, however, seized the Syrian, put his hand in the breast of his armor, pulled him up, and then lifted him onto his shoulders. I can still see his two feet[172]

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165. That is, those belonging to tribes classified by the genealogists as "southerners."

166. *Kashifū*, a quasi-passive of *kashafa*; *WṢ*, 248, has *inkashafū*.

167. Two tribal groupings, both classified as "northerners."

168. The referents of the pronouns are slightly ambiguous, so that it is not clear whether the father was sheltering the sons or the sons the father, although the latter seems more likely. *WṢ*, 249, inserts *fa-yakrahu 'Aliyyun dhālik* "'Alī did not like that" to make it clear that it was his sons who tried to protect 'Alī, who then took them and sheltered them himself.

169. That is, a *mawlā* of Mu'āwiyah's father.

170. *WṢ*, 249, makes 'Alī the one who swore the oath.

171. The name also occurs as that of a *mawlā* prominent in the rising of al-Mukhtār and as the eponym of a Shī'ī sect; see *EI²*, s.v. Kaysān, Kaysāniyya.

172. *Rujaylatā*, a diminutive; see *Gloss.*, s.v. *r-j-l*.

coming down on 'Alī's neck, but then the latter smashed him to ground and broke his shoulder and his upper arms, and 'Alī's two sons, Ḥusayn and Muḥammad, fell on him and struck him with their swords. I can still see 'Alī standing and his two cubs striking the man. When they had killed him and come up to their father, 'Alī asked al-Ḥasan, who was standing by, "My son, why did you not act as your two brothers did?" He answered, "Commander of the Fathful, they made it unnecessary for me to do so."

Then the men of Syria got close to him, but, by God, that did [3294] not make him move any faster. Al-Ḥasan said, "It would not do any harm if you went more quickly so that you would reach those of your men who have held fast against the enemy." But he answered: "My son, there is a day coming for your father that he will inevitably face, and going fast will not postpone it for him, and walking normally will not hurry it up. By God it does not matter for your father whether he comes upon death or death comes upon him."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī—a *mawlā* of al-Ashtar: When the right wing of the Iraqis was defeated and 'Alī joined the left, al-Ashtar passed him galloping in the direction of the right wing toward the panic. 'Alī said to him, "Mālik," and he answered, "Yes, here I am at your service." 'Alī said, "Go to those men and ask them why they are fleeing from death, whose power they cannot destroy, to life, which will not long remain for them?" Mālik went on and met the men in their flight. He said to them what 'Alī had told him to say and rallied them, saying, "To me, men! I am Mālik b. al-Ḥārith, I am Mālik b. al-Ḥārith!" But then he thought that perhaps he was better known among them as al-Ashtar, and he said, "I am al-Ashtar! To me, men!"

A group joined him, but a group deserted, and he cried out: "Men, how shameful you are![173] How wretched has been your fighting today! Men, sort out Madhḥij,[174] and send them to me."

Madhḥij joined him, and he said: "May you bite on hard rock![175] You have neither pleased your Lord nor been true to Him regarding your enemy. How can that be when you are born warriors, lords

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173. See Wright, *Grammar*, index, and Lane, *Lexicon* (Supplement), both s.v. *han*.

174. Together with Kindah and Hamdān, Madhḥij was one of the main "southern" tribes settled in al-Kūfah; al-Ashtar's own tribe of Nakha' belonged to them (see *EI*², s.v.; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Maḏḥiǧ).

175. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *aṣamm*.

of the raid, lads for a fight, heroes of the chase, bringers of death
[3295] to your opponents, Madhḥij of the weapon thrust, those who are ever first in taking their revenge, whose blood is not left unavenged, who never know disgrace on a battlefield? You are the sharp blade among the men of your garrison town, and the most ready to fight[176] of the clans of your people. Whatever you do on this day will be handed down afterward, so take heed of the accounts that will be passed on in the future. Prove true in meeting the enemy, for God is with those who are true. By Him in whose hand is Mālik's life, there is no man among those—and he pointed with his hand to the Syrians—comparable with Muḥammad, even to the extent of a gnat's wing. You have not fought well.[177] Remove the pallor[178] from my face, and let my blood return to it. Rouse yourselves against this great host! If God—may He be magnified and exalted—scatters it, those on each side will follow it, just as the tail of a flood of water follows its head."

They responded, "Lead us wherever you want," so he went toward the thick of the enemy from the side adjoining the right wing, beginning to advance toward them and pushing them back.

Warriors of Hamdān[179] turned toward him—they were 800 fighters at that time. The rest of the men had been routed, but they had held firm in the right wing until 180 of them had been laid low and 11 of their leaders had been killed. Each time one of them was killed, another took the banner. The first was Kurayb b. Shurayḥ,
[3296] then Shuraḥbīl b. Shurayḥ, then Marthad b. Shurayḥ, then Hubayrah b. Shurayḥ, then Yarīm b. Shurayḥ, then Sumayr b. Shurayḥ. Those six brothers were all killed, and then Sufyān b. Zayd seized the banner, then 'Abd b. Zayd, then Kurayb b. Zayd. Those three brothers were all killed, and then 'Umayr b. Bashīr seized the banner, then al-Ḥārith b. Bashīr. They were both killed.

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176. *A'add; Ann.* has "la più numerosa," but see *jaysh a'add* in Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

177. *WṢ*, 252, inserts *al-yawma* before *al-qirā'*.

178. Reading *suwād*, rather than *sawād*.

179. For this "southern" tribal group, see *EI*², s.v.; together with Madhḥij and Ḥimyar they made up one of the sevenths into which al-Kūfah was organized. None of the following names of Hamdānīs are listed in Ibn al-Kalbī, and these appear to be the only references to them in Ṭabarī's *History*.

Wahb b. Kurayb seized the banner, the brother of al-Qalūṣ.[180] He wanted to advance, but one of his fellow tribesmen said: "Go back with this banner, may God have mercy on you! The noble men (*ashrāf*) of your tribe have been killed around it. Do not kill yourself and those of your tribe who are left." They retreated, therefore, saying: "Would that we had an equal number from among the other Arabs who would swear an alliance with us to fight to the death. Then we and they together would advance and not retreat until we were killed or achieved the victory." They passed by al-Ashtar while they were saying this, and he addressed them: "Come to me. I will swear an alliance with you and make a covenant never to retreat until we have gained the victory or have perished." So they came to him and stood with him in battle.

Regarding what they said, Ka'b b. Ju'ayl al-Taghlabī recited:

And Hamdān are blind;[181] they seek someone with whom to ally.

Al-Ashtar proceeded toward the right wing, and there joined his men who were falling back, men of steadfastness who would avoid shame and fulfill their undertakings. He defeated every squadron he fought against and overcame and drove back every detachment. While he was doing that he passed Ziyād b. al-Naḍr, who was being carried to the army camp. He asked who it was and was informed: [3297]
"Ziyād b. al-Naḍr. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl and his men were surrounded in the right wing. Ziyād went forward and raised aloft his banner for the men of the right wing, and they stood firm. He fought until he was felled."

Then hardly any time seemed to pass before al-Ashtar passed Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī, who was being carried back to the camp. He asked who it was, and they told him: "Yazīd b. Qays. When Ziyād b. al-Naḍr was felled, Yazīd raised aloft his banner for the men of the right wing and fought until he himself was laid low." Al-Ashtar said: "This, by God, is real perseverance and nobility in action. Is not[182] the true man ashamed to turn back without killing or being killed or being brought close to it?"

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180. *WS*, 252, has the following suggested emendations to the names previously given, based on the citations of *WS* in *SNB*: Shimr/Shamir (for Sumayr) b. Shurayḥ; Karib (for Kurayb) b. Zayd; 'Abdallāh (for 'Abd) b. Zayd; 'Umayr and al-Ḥārith b. Bishr (for Bashīr); Wahb b. Kurayb Abū (for *akhū*) al-Qalūṣ.

181. *Zurq*; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *azraq*, with reference to Qur'ān 20:102.

182. *Ann.* suggests read *idhā* for *a-lā*; *WS*, 254, has *a-lā*.

According to Abū Miknaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ al-Nakha'ī: At that time al-Ashtar was fighting, mounted on one of his horses with a Yemeni sword in his hand.[183] Every time he lowered it, you would have thought that it contained water flowing forth, and every time he raised it the rays of light from it were almost blinding. As he struck with his sword he would say, "Ill luck will change."[184]

Al-Ḥārith b. Jumhān al-Ju'fī[185] looked at him, but al-Ashtar was obscured by his armor, and al-Ḥārith did not recognize him. He drew near al-Ashtar and said, "May God reward you well henceforth for what you have done on behalf of the Commander of the Faithful and the Muslims." Al-Ashtar recognized him and said, "Does a man like you, Ibn Jumhān, lag behind when I am fighting like this?" Ibn Jumhān then looked at him and recognized him—al-Ashtar was one of the strongest built and tallest of the men, and he rarely trimmed his beard—and he said: "May I be made a ransom for you! By God, I did not know where you were until just now. I will stay with you until the death."

Munqidh and Ḥimyar, two sons of Qays of Banū al-Nā'iṭ,[186] saw him, and Munqidh said to his brother, "There is no one among the Arabs like this, judging from what I have seen of the way he fights."
[3298] Ḥimyar asked, "Do you think he has some ulterior motive beyond what you see him doing?" Munqidh answered, "I fear that he aims for kingship."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj—a *mawlā* of al-Ashtar: When most of those of the right wing who had fled had joined him, al-Ashtar worked them up and said,

> Grit your teeth, and meet the enemy head on. Fight like a people who have been denied vengeance for their fathers and brothers, wrathful against their enemy, determined on death for themselves so as not to be forestalled in their vengeance and not to meet shame in this world. I swear by

183. See *Ann.* 37 A. H. §20, for literature referring to the sword of al-Ashtar.

184. Literally, "the floods [come] and then pass from us;" Freytag, *Arabum proverbia,* II, 173.

185. See n. 46, above.

186. The Banū al-Nā'iṭ are a branch of Hamdān (Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 227); Munqidh and Ḥimyar do not seem to be further identifiable.

> God that there is nothing in which a people are cheated of vengeance that presses on them more than that they should be cheated in their religion (*dīn*). The enemy are fighting you precisely on account of your religion, so as to destroy the accepted practice (*sunnah*), cause innovation (*bid'ah*) to flourish, and cast you back into the error from which God has delivered you by the grace of His regard. Servants of God, gladly surrender your blood, not your religion, and your reward will be due from God, for with Him are pleasant gardens.[187] In refusal to go forward there is the ruin of our honor, the seizure of the spoils we have won (*fay'*), abasement in life and in death, and shame in this world and the next.

He attacked the Syrians and defeated them until he had driven them back to the lines of Mu'āwiyah, during the time between the afternoon and evening prayers. He came to 'Abdallāh b. Budayl, who was with a group of the *qurrā'* between 200 and 300 strong, which had held its ground so stubbornly that they might have been heaps of stones. He drove the Syrians back from them, and when those *qurrā'* perceived that their brethren were at hand they asked about the Commander of the Faithful. Al-Ashtar's men replied, "He is alive and in good health, in the left wing and fighting the enemy in front of him." "Praise be to God. We thought that he must have perished and you too," they said. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl said to his [3299]
men, "Let us advance," but al-Ashtar sent to him: "No! Hold fast with the army and fight—that is better for them and increases the chances of survival for you and your men." But he refused to heed that and went on just as he was toward Mu'āwiyah, surrounded as if by mountains. In his hand he had two swords.[188] He had been wounded,[189] but he was in front of his men, and every time a Syrian approached him he would strike him and kill him. When he had killed seven, he came close to Mu'āwiyah, but the latter's supporters rushed to him from every side, and he and a band of his men were

187. See Qur'ān 31:8.
188. For the custom of fighting with two swords, see F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen*, (Leipzig, 1886), 55–56 (*Ann.*, A. H. 37 §21).
189. Read *juriḥa* for *kharaja (Add. et emend.)*; Cairo maintains *kharaja*.

surrounded. He fought until he and some of his men were killed, while a group of those who had been wounded[190] retreated in flight.

Al-Ashtar sent Ibn Jumhān al-Ju'fī to attack those Syrians pursuing the men of Ibn Budayl who had escaped. After he had brought them relief, they came to al-Ashtar, who said: "Would not my view have been better for you than your own? Did I not tell you to hold fast with the men?"

While Ibn Budayl was striking out in front, Mu'āwiyah had said regarding him,[191] "Do you think that he is the bellwether of the army?" After he had been killed, he sent with instructions to find out who he was. Some of the Syrians looked at him but said that they did not recognize him, so Mu'āwiyah came and stood over him, and said: "Indeed, it is 'Abdallāh b. Budayl. By God, if the women of Khuzā'ah had been able to fight us as well as their men, they would have done so. Lay him out!"[192] They laid him out, and Mu'āwiyah said, "By God, this is just as the poet said:

Valiant fighter! If war afflicted him, he afflicted it,
and if, one day, war became vehement for him, he strove (in it) vehemently.

[3300] (The verse is by Ḥātim Ṭayyi'.)[193]

Al-Ashtar advanced against them, and Mu'āwiyah met him with the 'Akk and the Ash'ar.[194] Al-Ashtar said to Madhḥij, "Protect me against 'Akk," and he positioned himself among Hamdān and said to Kindah, "Protect me against the Ash'ar." They fought fiercely while he went off to his own kin (Madhḥij), saying, "That is only 'Akk—attack them!" The 'Akk went down on their knees reciting in *rajaz*:

Woe to the mother of Madhḥij from 'Akk!
That is the mother of Madhḥij weeping.

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190. Read *juriḥū* for *kharajū* (*Add. et emend.*).
191. *Qāla li ibni Budayl.*
192. *Muddūhu*; *Ann.* has "lasciatelo."
193. See his *Dīwān*, ed. F. Schultess (Leipzig, 1897), no. XLIX (p. 34, line 18).
194. Two "southern" tribes settled in Jordan; Ash'ar was counted as a uterine brother of Madhḥij (see Ibn al-Kalbī, s.vv. 'Akk b. 'Adnān and Aš'ar b. 'Udad; and *EI*², s.v. 'Akk).

They fought until evening, and then al-Ashtar attacked them with Hamdān and other groups. He charged at them and forced them to abandon their positions, eventually forcing them back among the five lines bound together with turbans around Mu'āwiyah. Then he bore down fiercely once more. He brought down the first four lines (they were bound together with turbans), and they reached the fifth line around Mu'āwiyah. Mu'āwiyah called for a horse and mounted. (Subsequently) he would say, "I wanted to flee, but I remembered what Ibn al-Iṭnābah[195] of the Anṣār (he was a poet before Islam, and his mother al-Iṭnābah was a woman of Balqayn) said:

My integrity and sense of honor have forbidden me (to flee),
together with my boldness against the advancing hero,
My giving away what I have, in spite of my abhorrence for that,
my acquisition of praise for a gainful price,
And my saying each time my heart heaves with fright,
"Hold, heart, to your place—you will be given either praise or rest."

These words prevented me from fleeing.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī—Zayd b. Wahb: When 'Alī saw that his right wing had taken up its position again and reformed its lines and that it had driven back the enemy facing it so decisively that they were fighting them in their own lines, he came up to them and said,

> I have seen how you were forced to move and pushed out [3301]
> of your lines. It was rude and evil ones and Syrian bedouins who dispersed you, while you are the magnanimous heroes of the Arabs, their mighty peak, denizens of the night in your reciting of the Qur'ān, and people summoning to the truth (*ahl da'wat al-ḥaqq*) when those in error have gone astray. If it were not for your advancing after your retreat and your attacking following your retirement, there would have been required of you what is required of the one who turns tail on the day of the advance, and you would have

195. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only citation from this poet. For the mother's tribe, see *EI*², s.v. Ḳayn.

> been among those who are lost. But it has abated my passion and remedied some of the anger of my soul that I have seen you, at the end, force them back just as they had forced you and make them leave their lines just as they had made you. You raked them with your swords, their foremost charging after their hindmost like camels being chased. But now, be steadfast. May God's spirit (*al-sakīnah*) descend on you, and may God make you firm with conviction so that he who is put to flight knows that he displeases his Lord and mortifies his soul. For flight arouses God's anger and results in lasting humiliation, abiding shame, the loss of the spoils that have been won, and the ruin of life. For he who flees there is no increase in the span of his life,[196] and his Lord is not given gratification. It is better that a man should die righteous, before what I have described happens, than that he should be satisfied with accustoming himself to it and accepting it.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abdallāh b. Jābir al-Aḥmasī: At Ṣiffīn the banner of the Bajīlah was borne by Banū Aḥmas b. al-Ghawth b. Anmār.[197] Abū Shaddād, that is, Qays b. Makshūḥ b. Hilāl b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Jābir b. 'Alī b. Aslam b. Aḥmas b. al-Ghawth, had it.[198] Bajīlah said to him, "Take our banner," but he said, "Someone else would be better for you." "We do not want anybody else," they said, and he replied, "By God, if
[3302] you give it to me, I will not stop leading you forward until I reach the man with the gilded shield." They said, "Do as you wish." He took it, therefore, and went forward until he had led them as far as the man with the gilded shield, who was with a large group of Mu'āwiyah's men. (They said that he was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī.) A violent fight broke out there, and Abū Shaddād rushed with his sword against the man with the shield. A Greek (*rūmī*), a *mawlā* of Mu'āwiyah, barred his way, struck at

196. *Wa-inna al-fārra minhu lā yazīdu fī 'umrihi*. The *minhu* seems intrusive and difficult to understand. *WṢ*, 256, has *wa-inna al-fārra lā yazīdu al-firāru fī 'umrihi*.

197. For the Banū Bajīlah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, I table 221, II, index, s.v. Bağīla, and *EI*², s.v. Badjīla; for the Banū Aḥmas b. al-Ghawth of Bajīlah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 223.

198. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II index, s.v. Qais b. Makšūḥ.

Abū Shaddād's foot, and cut it off, but Abū Shaddād stabbed him and killed him. Then the points of spears were directed at Abū Shaddād, and he was killed.

'Abdallāh b. Qil' al-Aḥmasī[199] seized the banner, saying:

May God not dismiss Abū Shaddād
since he answered the call of the summoner
And fell with his sword on the opponents.
How excellent a hero he was in face of the attack
And in the thrusting with spears of the footmen and their smiting with swords.

And 'Abdallāh b. Qil' fought until he was killed.

Then his brother, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qil', took the banner and fought until he was killed. Next 'Afīf b. Iyās took it, and he kept hold of it until the two sides separated. Ḥāzim b. Abī Ḥāzim al-Aḥmasī, brother of Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, was killed on that day, and so too was Nu'aym b. Ṣuhayb b. al-'Ulayyah al-Bajalī. The latter's cousin and namesake, Nu'aym b. al-Ḥārith b. al-'Ulayyah, came [3303]
to Mu'āwiyah, whose side he was on, and said: "This slain man is my cousin. Give him to me so that I may bury him." But Mu'āwiyah responded: "Do not bury him—they[200] are not fit for that. By God, we could bury Ibn 'Affān only in secret." Nu'aym b. al-Ḥārith said, "By God, either you allow me to bury him, or I will join them and abandon you." Mu'āwiyah said: "Do you see the shaykhs of the Arabs preoccupied with these events—and you trouble me about burying your cousin![201] Bury him if you want, or leave him alone!" He buried him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah al-Azdī—shaykhs of Banū al-Namir of the Azd: When the Azd were

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199. He and the Aḥmasīs who are mentioned subsequently do not seem to be further identifiable.

200. Mu'āwiyah apparently disparages all his opponents; Cairo has *laysa* in the singular.

201. The context seems to demand some such translation as this; *Gloss.*, s.v. *ḥ-w-l*, form IV, with reference to this passage, has for *aḥālahu amruhu*": res sua ejus mentem mutavit, ut ad partes alias transiret," which would presumably produce a translation such as, "Do you think that their affairs cause the shaykhs of the Arabs to change their minds (and loyalties)?" *WṢ*, 259, has *tarā ashyākh al-'arab lā nuwārīhim wa-anta*... ("do you see the shaykhs of the Arabs whom we have not buried, and you ask me about...").

assigned to fight the Azd, Mikhnaf b. Sulaym[202] praised God and exalted Him and then said: "It is one of the worst wrongs and most terrible trials that we sould be sent against our own people and they against us. By God, it is nothing less than cutting off our own hands and hacking off our arms with our swords. Yet, if we do not assist our comunity and act faithfully toward our leader, we deny our faith (*kafarnā*), and, if we do that, we abandon our honor and extinguish our fire."[203]

Jundab b. Zuhayr[204] said to him: "By God. Supposing we were their fathers who had begotten them or their sons whom they had sired, and then they had removed themselves from our community and attacked our imām, and thus they exercised authority over those of our religion (*millah*) and those under our protection with tyranny. In that case the rest of us would not disband after joining together until the renegades had abandoned what they had taken up and returned to that to which we summoned them. Or, if they did not respond, there would be much slaughter between us."

Mikhnaf, who was a maternal cousin of Jundab, replied: "May God honor you for your motive. But, by God, you were always known,[205] as a child and as a grown man, as unlucky. By God, there never was a time, either in the time of our ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*) or after we had accepted Islam, when we had to make a choice about which of two things we should accept and which we should leave alone, but that you chose the hardest and most difficult. Oh God,
[3304] we would rather that You gave us security than put (us) to the test. Grant to each of us what he asks of You."

Abū Buraydah b. 'Awf[206] said: "Oh God, judge between us according to what pleases You. My clansmen, you can see what the

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202. For this Azdī ancestor of Abū Mikhnaf, see p. 13, above.

203. *WṢ*, 262, omits *kafarnā*.

204. An Azdī who is said to have accepted Islam from the Prophet himself, and an opponent of 'Uthmān (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II index, s.v. Ǧundab b. Zuhair; Ibn Sa'd, I/2, 30).

205. I have adopted the reading of the Cairo edition; Leiden (and *Ann.*) read *'ulimtu*, "I was always known"; *WṢ*, 262, has Mikhnaf say to Jundab, *'alimtuka*, "I have always known you."

206. This is Ṭabarī's only reference to him and it seems possible that it is the later mentioned Abū Zaynab b. 'Awf who is intended—a possible orthographic confusion. *WṢ*, 263, has Abū Baradah, who is mentioned elsewhere in *WṢ* and Ṭabarī, and that, too, would be possible orthographically.

people are doing. We have the example of what the community has agreed on, if we are in the right and they righteous; and to follow an example in evil, is, by God, as we know, a misfortune in life and in death."

Jundab b. Zuhayr came forward and challenged the head of the Syrian Azd to combat. The Syrian killed him. 'Ijl and Sa'd, the two sons of 'Abdallāh of the Banū Tha'labah, were also killed out of Jundab's group. Together with Mikhnaf, of his companions were killed 'Abdallāh and Khālid the two sons of Nājid, 'Amr and 'Āmir the two sons of 'Uwayf, 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj, Jundab b. Zuhayr,[207] and Abū Zaynab b. 'Awf b. al-Ḥārith. 'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī went out to fight among the *qurrā'* who were with 'Ammār b. Yāsir and was struck down with him.[208]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah—shaykhs of Banū al-Namir: At the time of Ṣiffīn 'Uqbah b. Ḥadīd al-Namarī[209] said:

> The pastures of this world have become dry stalks and its trees broken; what was new has become tatters, and what was sweet, bitter. I tell you of a truthful man. I had grown weary of this world and turned myself away from it. I longed for martyrdom and exposed myself to it in every combat and raid. But God insisted that I should attain this day. Now I again expose myself to it and yearn that I shall not be refused it. Servants of God, what do you expect of your *jihād* against those who act in enmity to God, while you are in fear of death coming to you and seizing your life—for there is no preventing death—or of a blow from [3305]
> a sword? You will exchange this present world for the vision of the face of God—powerful and mighty is He—and for the meeting with the prophets, the truthful ones, the martyrs, and the just[210] in the abode of rest. [Fear of death] is not the right attitude!

207. The Leiden editor suggests that Jundab's name should be deleted from this list; the parallel in *WṢ*, 263 (which has some minor variants), includes it.

208. See on this p. 64ff, below.

209. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only mention of him; note that this is not the Banū al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ of Rabī'ah, but al-Namir b. 'Uthmān b. Naṣr. . . b. Mālik b. al-Azd. *WṢ*, 263–64, calls him 'Utbah b. Juwayriyyah.

210. Qur'ān 4:71.

Then he went on and said, "My brothers, I have sold this abode for that which lies ahead of it. Here I look toward it. May you not lose sight of it,[211] and may God not deny your hopes."

His brothers 'Ubaydallāh, 'Awf, and Mālik followed him, saying, "We will not seek the rewards of this world after you have gone, for God has made life hateful without you. Oh God, we hope that the loss of our lives will be rewarded with You." And they went forward and fought until they were killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ṣilah[212] b. Zuhayr al-Nahdī—Muslim[213] b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḍibābī: I was at Ṣiffīn with our clan, and Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan[214] al-Ḍibābī was with us. Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhilī[215] challenged him to combat and struck Shamir in the face with his sword; Shamir gave him a blow that did no harm. Then Shamir returned to the place where he had left his equipment and drank something, for he was thirsty. He took his lance and went forward, saying:

It is my responsibility to give the brother of Bāhilah
 a lance thrust, since I did not kill [him] immediately,[216]
Or a blow, beneath the spears and the fighting,
 that will almost kill him or indeed kill him.

Then he attacked Adham and felled [but did not kill] him and said, "Take this (blow) for that one."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Amr b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Mālik al-Jushamī: Bishr b. 'Iṣmah al-Muzanī had joined Mu'āwiyah. When the armies fought at Ṣiffīn, Bishr noticed Mālik b. al-'Aqadiyyah

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211. *Hādhā wajhī ilayhā lā tubraḥu wujūhukum*; *WṢ*, 264, has *hādhā wajhī ilayhā lā yubriḥu (!) Allāhu wujūhakum*.

212. Text has Mallah, but see *Add. et emend.*; he appears as Ṣilah at Ṭabarī, II, 636 (= XX, 220, of this translation, where al-Ḍabbābī should be corrected to al-Ḍibābī). *WṢ*, 268, cites the following report from Muslim via al-Ṣalt b. Zuhayr al-Nahdī, a name that figures in the *isnāds* of a number of its other reports.

213. Delete the Abū before Muslim in the text (see *Add. et emend.*).

214. Of the Banū Kilāb (of Qays); later famous as one of the leaders of the force that killed al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā' (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index s.v. Šimr b. Šuraḥbīl).

215. Of the Banū Qays (see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 168–69 and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

216. Following the reading suggested in note *d)*: *idh lam uṣib*; the printed text has *in lam uṣab*, presumably giving a rendering like "if I am not killed." *Ann.* seems to amalgamate the two possibilities: "poichè non sono stato colpito" (A.H. 37 §26). *WṢ*, 268, has *in lam amut*.

(he was Mālik b. al-Julāḥ al-Jushamī,[217] but the name al-'Aqadiyyah had prevailed) achieving wonderful deeds against the Syrians. Mālik was a true Muslim and brave, and Bishr was annoyed by what he saw. So he attacked him, stabbed him, and felled him to the ground, but then he turned back and was sorry about stabbing him treacherously[218] and said: [3306]

From my "king" (i.e., God) I hope for forgiveness
while in my heart is disquiet concerning the master of the branded camel.
I crept up to him beneath the dust of battle with a thrust
at a time when spear thrusts were being exchanged violently.

Ibn al-'Aqadiyyah learned of what Bishr had said and replied:

Inform Bishr b. 'Iṣmah that I
was preoccupied and that those whom I was against distracted me.
You seized upon a moment of inattention and took advantage of it
like that; true champions are direct in attack or take advantage of opportunities.

Then 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṭufayl al-Bakkā'ī[219] attacked a group of Syrians. When he was on his way back, a man of the Banū Tamīm called Qays b. Qurrah,[220] one of the Iraqis who had joined Mu'āwiyah, attacked him and placed his lance between his shoulder blades. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, the cousin of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṭufayl, then went up to him and put his own lance between the shoulders of the Tamīmī. He said, "By God, if you stab him, I stab you." The Tamīmī answered, "Do you swear faithfully by God that if I remove the spear point from the back of your companion you will take yours away from mine?" Yazīd said, "Yes, I promise you that by God." And the Tamīmī removed his spear from Ibn al-Ṭufayl, and Yazīd removed his.

217. For Bishr b. 'Iṣmah al-Muzanī, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s. v. Bišr. For Mālik b. al-Julāḥ al-Jushamī, *WṢ*, 269, n. 4, refers to the *Mu'jam al-shu'arā'* of al-Marzubānī (Jerusalem, 1354), 363. For the various possibilities regarding Banū 'Aqad, see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, II, 797.

218. *Jabbāran*; see *Gloss.*, s.v.

219. Of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṭufail al-Bakkā'ī).

220. *WṢ*, 277, has Qays b. Nahd al-Ḥanẓalī al-Yarbū'ī.

The Tamīmī asked which tribal group Yazīd was from, and he answered, "From Banū 'Āmir.[221] The Tamīmī said to Yazīd, "May
[3307] God make me a ransom for you. May you two return with the friendship between us and your clan as it was before the battle, you (all) being noble,[222] (even though) you have killed eleven men of my family and clan today, and I am the last of them."

When the army got back to al-Kūfah, Ibn al-Ṭufayl reproved Yazīd regarding something of the sort for which a man censures his cousin, and Yazīd responded:

Did you not see me shielding you in good faith
at Ṣiffīn when every close friend deserted you?
And I held the Ḥanẓalī (of Tamīm) back from you, who had come
on a charger in the freshness of its youth and full of running.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj: One of the Syrians came out challenging anybody to fight and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥriz al-Kindī, al-Ṭaḥmī, went out against him.[223] The two of them sparred with each other for some time, and then 'Abd al-Raḥmān attacked the Syrian and stabbed him right between his collar bones and felled him to the ground. Then he dismounted and plundered his armor and weapons and found that he was a Ḥabashī.[224] 'Abd al-Raḥmān said: "We belong to God (and to Him we will return). Against whom did I hazard my life? Against a black slave!" Then a man of the 'Akk came out asking for combat, and Qays b. Fahdān al-Kindī, al-Baddā'ī,[225] accepted the challenge. The

221. In the Arabic subject and object are not clearly distinguished grammatically, but it seems that the Tamīmī asked the question of Yazīd, since the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah are the group of which the Banū Bakkā' are a fraction.

222. *Ubtumā ilfukum ilfukum kirāman*. For this translation, see *Gloss.*, s.v. '-*l-f*, with reference to Wright, *Grammar*, II, §183a, rem., for the case of a verb followed by a nominal clause but without *wa* (one might have expected *ubtumā wa-ilfukum* . . .). Cairo has *aynumā ulfikum ulfikum kirāman* ("wherever I find you, I will find you noble ones"), and *WṢ*, 277 (*aynumā laqaynākum wajadnākum kirāman*), gives the same sense.

223. *WṢ*, 276, emends Ṭaḥmī to Ṭumaḥī or Ṭamaḥī, which is a fraction of Kindah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ṭumḥ b. al-Ḥārith.

224. That is, an Abyssinian, but here probably simply meaning "black."

225. See *Add. et emend.* for the *nisba* al-Baddā'ī (of Kindah); the printed text has al-Kinānī al-Badanī, which is adopted by *WṢ*, 276–77, apparently from Ṭabarī (the ms. reading al-Kindī). See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Qais b. Fahdān, where it is said that he is falsely ascribed to Banū Baddā'.

'Akkī attacked Qays. He, however, stabbed his attacker, whose companions then carried him off. Qays b. Fahdān said:

'Akk have learned at Ṣiffīn that we,
  when the two horsemen meet, shall thrust at them from every side,
And carry the banners of battle as they merit.
  We will come with them white and bring them back red.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj: Qays b. Fahdān was urging on his companions, saying: "When you attack, attack together, and, when you turn away, turn away simultaneously. Lower your eyes, and be few in your words. Take turns in taking on your opponents, and indeed destruction will not befall the Arabs on your part." [3308]

Nahīk b. Zuhayr of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Adī, 'Amr b. Yazīd of the Banū Dhuhl, and Sa'īd b. 'Amr[226] were all killed. Qays b. Yazīd then came out—he was one of those who had fled to Mu'āwiyah from 'Alī—and issued a challenge. His brother Abū al-'Amarraṭah b. Yazīd went out against him, but they recognized each other and desisted from fighting together and then returned to their respective armies, each of them reporting that he had met his brother.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ja'far b. Ḥudhayfah of the family of 'Āmir b. Juwayn al-Ṭā'ī: At Ṣiffīn the Ṭayyi' fought fiercely, and a large force of them was mobilized. Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Hamdānī[227] came to them and asked, "To which people do you belong, God be with you?" 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah al-Bawlānī, who was a partisan of 'Alī (*shī'ī*) and a poet and orator, replied,[228] "We are Ṭayyi' of the plain, Ṭayyi' of the sand, and Ṭayyi' of the mountain, which is well defended and supplied with palm trees; we are the defenders of the two hills[229] as far as what is between

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226. *WṢ*, 285, has Nuhayk b. 'Azīz, Cairo Nuhayk b. 'Uzayr; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, has Nahīk b. Ghurayr (Gurair). The Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Adī are of Kindah. I cannot identify 'Amr b. Yazīd, but both names seem to be common among the Banū Dhuhl b. Mu'āwiyah of Kindah. For Qays and his brother Abū al-'Amarraṭah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.v. Qais b. Yazīd b. 'Amr b. Šaraḥīl and 'Umair b. Yazīd.

227. See n. 81, above.

228. The following words are in *saj'*, rhyming prose.

229. See n. 114, above, on the two hills of the Banū Ṭayyi'.

al-'Udhayb and al-'Ayn;[230] we are Ṭayyi' of the lances, Ṭayyi' of the butting, and warriors of the morning." Ḥamzah b. Mālik answered, "Well done! Excellent! You are great in praising your own people," and 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah said:

If you do not know of the courage of a group of people,
    then come to us, may misfortune not fall upon you, and you will know.

Then the men fought together most fiercely and 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah began calling out: "O band of Ṭayyi', may all that I have which is new and all that I have which is old be a ransom for you. Fight in accordance with your noble status!" And he began to say:

[3309] I am he whose sword, when the crier gives the call,
    penetrates through the bone, he who is spritely and excites admiration.
I unhorse the one who has donned the breastplate, the one concealed by his helmet,
    and I kill the noble man who fights on foot.

Bishr b. al-'Asūs al-Ṭā'ī, al-Milqaṭī,[231] said:

    Ṭayyi' of the plains and the mountains!
Attack with your swords and iron tips of your spears
    and with your ironclad and heroic men.
And fight against the imams of the ignorant ones,
    those who wander in the ways of error.

On that day the eye of Abū al-'Asūs[232] was put out, and he said about it:

I wish that this eye of mine was like that one (which was lost),
    and then I could not walk among men, except with a guide.

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230. Al-'Ayn is probably 'Ayn al-Tamr in the desert south of Hīt (n. 114, above), while al-'Udhayb is the name of a water source farther south, on the edge of the desert and the Sawād, close to the site of the Battle of Qādisiyyah (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.).

231. *WṢ*, 279, has Bishr b. al-'Ashūsh; for the Banū al-Milqaṭ b. 'Amr of Ṭayyi', see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

232. Cairo has *Ibn* al-'Asūs. *WṢ*, 280, simply reads *fa-fuqi'at 'aynuhu*, thus indicating Bishr as the one who lost his eye and composed the following verses.

And would that I had not survived after Muṭarrif
    and Sa'd and after al-Mustanīr b. Khālid,[233]
horsemen to the likes of whom the wet nurses never gave suck,
    when war became vehement.[234]
If only my foot there was cut off with its other part,[235]
    and my hand had perished with my forearm.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī—some shaykhs of Muḥārib: There was among them a man called Khanthar b. 'Ubaydah b. Khālid,[236] one of the bravest of the men. At the time of Ṣiffīn, when the men fought one another, he thought that his companions were routed, and he started to cry: "Oh band of Qays, is obedience to Satan preferable to you to obedience to the Merciful One? Flight entails rebellion against God, praise be to Him, and His anger, but in holding steadfast is obedience to God, mighty and great is He, and His pleasure. Will you choose God's anger over His pleasure and rebellion against Him over obedience to Him? Repose after death is only for he who dies able to account for himself.[237] And he said: [3310]

The soul of a man who has turned his back finds no refuge.
    I am he who does not turn tail or flee
and is not seen with those who stand apart, the treacherous ones.

He fought until he was carried off wounded. Subsequently he departed (*kharaja*) with the 500 men who withdrew (*i'tazalū*) with Farwah b. Nawfal al-Ashja'ī and settled at al-Daskarah and al-Bandanījayn.[238]

The Banū al-Nakha' fought strenuously on that day. Among them there fell Bakr b. Hawdhah, Ḥayyān b. Hawdhah, and Shu'ayb b. Nu'aym of the Banū Bakr al-Nakha' and Rabī'ah b. Mālik b. Wahbīl

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233. I cannot further identify these heroes of Ṭayyi'.

234. Literally, "when war reveals the anklets of the virgins"; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *khadamah*.

235. *Bi-niṣfihā*.

236. The subsequent invocation to the Banū Qays seems to identify the Banū Muḥārib as Muḥārib b. Khaṣafah (Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 92); *WṢ*, 286, reads 'Antar b. 'Ubayd b. Khālid.

237. *Muḥāsiban li-nafsihi*; *Ann.* has "essendo in regola con se stesso."

238. A reference to the withdrawal of Farwah and his men from the Khārijite forces facing 'Alī at Nahrawān. (see p. 130, below). *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §31a, translates *kharaja* ("he departed") here as "si fece Kharigita," which may be intended.

and Ubayy b. Qays the brother of 'Alqamah b. Qays, the man learned in religion and law (*faqīh*).[239] On that day 'Alqamah's foot was cut off, and he would say: "I do not wish my foot to be restored to health as it was. It is one of the things for which I hope for a goodly reward from my Lord." And he said: "I desired to see my brother or one of my brethren in my sleep, and I saw my brother. I asked him, 'Brother, what is it like where you are?' He replied, 'We and the enemy have met together and disputed before God, and we have defeated them with our arguments.' I have never been as happy since attaining reason as when I had this dream."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Suwayd b. Ḥayyah al-Asadī—al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir:[240] Before the battle some people had gone
[3311] to 'Alī and said, "We suspect that Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar[241] has been in correspondence with Mu'āwiyah and we are afraid that he is an adherent of his." So 'Alī sent for him and for some of our notables. After praising God and extolling Him, he said, "Now, band of Rabī'ah, you are my supporters (*anṣār*) and the ones who have responded to my call, and you are one of the clans of the Arabs on which I rely most. But I have heard that Mu'āwiyah has been in correspondence with your companion Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar. So I have brought him here and gathered you together that you may be witnesses in his case and so that you may hear what I say." Then he turned to him and said: "Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar, if what I have heard is true, then I make God and those of the Muslims who are here my witnesses that you have security so long as you remain in the land of Iraq or the Ḥijāz or in any land where Mu'āwiyah does not have authority. If, on the other hand, you have been lied against, then our heart will rest easy in you."

Khālid denied it, swearing by God, and many of our men said, "If we knew that he had done that, we would make an example of him." Shaqīq b. Thawr al-Sadūsī[242] said, "May Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar never prosper if he has aided Mu'āwiyah and the Syrians

239. For the Banū al-Nakha', see n. 174, above. For the Banū Bakr b. 'Awf of Nakha', see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; and for 'Alqamah b. Qays, ibid., s.v.

240. For the role of this man of the Banū Shaybān (Bakr b. Wā'il) in the fighting, see pp. 59, 63, below; and see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 113.

241. See p. 18 and n. 72, above.

242. For this man of the Banū Sadūs of Bakr, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 120.

against 'Alī and Rabī'a." Ziyād b. Khaṣafah al-Taymī[243] said, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, reassure yourself of Ibn al-Mu'ammar by making him swear that he will not betray you." He did that, and we departed.

On Thursday our men were routed on the right, and 'Alī came out as far as us, together with his sons, and cried out in a loud and public voice as if he were not concerned with the plight of the men, "Whose banners are these?" "The banners of Rabī'ah," we replied, but he said: "No indeed, they are the banners of God; may God protect those who rally to them. May He make them steadfast and set their feet firm."[244] Then he said to me, "Young man, will you not take this banner of yours one *dhirā'*[245] nearer (to the enemy)?" [3312]
and I said, "Yes, by God, even ten of them," So I got up and took it nearer until 'Alī said, "That is close enough." Then I stood fast where he had told me, and my companions gathered around.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī: I heard shaykhs of our clan of Taymallāh b. Tha'labah saying that the banner of those of Rabī'ah settled in al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah[246] was with Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar of the people of al-Baṣrah. Those shaykhs said further that Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar and Shaqīq[247] b. Thawr reached an agreement by putting al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir al-Dhuhlī in charge of the banner of the Baṣran Bakr b. Wā'il. Khālid and Shaqīq had contested with each other for possession of it but then said: "This youth of ours has an honorable status. Let us assign it to him until we have decided the question." Then afterward 'Alī put Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar in charge of the banner of all of Rabī'ah.

Mu'āwiyah cast lots to decide which of the three strongest tribes among the people of Iraq at that time—Rabī'ah, Hamdān, and Madhḥij—his own Ḥimyarīs should fight. The lot fell on Rabī'ah.

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243. See p. 18 and n. 73, above.

244. See Qur'ān 2:250; 3:147.

245. A unit of measurement, sometimes translated "cubit" (see Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 55ff.).

246. *Rāyatu Rabī'ata ahli Kūfatihā wa-Baṣratihā.*

247. The printed text has Sufyān b. Thawr, and so too the mss. cited by Hinds in "Banners"; *WṢ*, 290, has Sa'īd b. Thawr. But the other references to Shaqīq here suggest that Shaqīq should be read on this occasion too. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, III, 108, refers to him as Shaqīq b. Majza'ah b. Thawr, whereas Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 153, has Shaqīq and Majza'ah as brothers.

Dhū al-Kalā'[248] said, "God damn you for a lot—you did not like the fighting!"[249] Dhū al-Kalā' advanced with Ḥimyar and those attached to it, including 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb with 4,000 *qurrā'* of the Syrians, and Dhū al-Kalā' commanded their right wing. They attacked Rabī'ah, who were the left wing of the people of Iraq and with whom was Ibn 'Abbās, in command of the left wing. Dhū al-Kalā' and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar attacked them fiercely with their cavalry and footmen, and the banners of Rabī'ah were brought low, except for a few of the best and the noblest.[250]

Then the Syrians turned away, but it was not long before they attacked again, and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar was saying: "Men of Syria!
[3313] This clan of the men of Iraq are the killers of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (may God be pleased with him) and the supporters (*anṣār*) of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. If you defeat this tribe, you will attain your revenge for 'Uthmān, and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the men of Iraq will be destroyed." They fiercely attacked the men, but Rabī'ah held firm against them and were most steadfast—except for a few of the lesser sort (*ḍu'afā'*)[251] and the cowardly ones. The bearers of the banners, and those who were steadfast and concerned to protect their honor, held firm and kept fighting hard.

When Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar saw that some of his fellow Rabī'ah had withdrawn, he did so as well. But when he saw that the men of the banners had stood firm and that (others of) his people had patiently held fast, he returned to the fray and shouted to those who were fleeing, ordering them to go back. Those of his fellow tribesmen who wished to cast suspicion on Khālid said, "He wanted to retreat, but when he saw that we had held fast he came back to us." Khālid, however, said: "When I saw that some of our men had been put to flight I decided to confront them and make them come back to you. Now I have come to you with those of them who obeyed me." His behavior was ambiguous.

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248. See p. 19 and n. 78, above.

249. *Karihta al-ḍirāb*, a pun playing on the fact that the root *ḍ-r-b*, "to strike," is used in connection with both the casting of lots and fighting. Presumably the story, which is being told from the point of view of the Banū Rabī'ah, is meant to illustrate the dismay of Dhū al-Kalā' at the prospect of fighting such a valiant enemy.

250. *Abdāl* here is presumably a doublet for *akhyār*.

251. For discussion of the use of the term *ḍa'īf*, see Serjeant, "*Ḍa'īf* and the *Mustaḍ'af*," 32–47.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a man of Bakr b. Wā'il—Muḥriz b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Ijlī: On that day Khālid said,

> Oh band of Rabī'ah! God has brought every one of you from his birthplace and his home and gathered you all together here, in a way unprecedented since your dispersal in the land. But if you hold back your hands, shrink from your enemy, and stay away from your battle lines, God will not be pleased with what you have done, and you will never meet anyone, either small or great, but that he will say, "Rabī'ah has disgraced its honor and turned its back on battle, and the Arabs have been ruined on their account." Beware lest the Arabs and the Muslims see you as an evil omen today. If you go forward and advance, you will be seeking a reward from God. Advancing is your custom and [3314] being steadfast a trait. Be steadfast, fixing your intention on being recompensed, for the reward of he who fixes his intention on what is with God is nobility in this world and rank in that to come. God does not cause the reward of he who acts rightly to be lost.[252]

A man arose and said, "By God, the concerns of Rabī'ah were lost when they entrusted them to you. You order us to continue fighting and not to depart until our lives are lost and our blood shed. Do you not see that most of the men have retreated?" Then some of Khālid's own kinship group came up to dispute with him. They criticized him and argued with him, but Khālid said: "Drive this man out from your midst. If he remains among you, he will be a source of evil for you, and, if he leaves you, he will not cause you any loss; this is the one who (is so insignificant that), 'He will not diminish the band and will not augment the land.' May God afflict you for being an orator to a noble poeple! How widely you have missed the mark!"

The fighting between Rabī'ah and Ḥimyar, supported by 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar, became fierce, and the number of those slain multiplied. Sumayr b. al-Rayyān b. al-Ḥārith al-'Ijlī was killed[253]—he was one of the most courageous of the men.

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252. See Qur'ān 9:120.
253. Verses referring to his death are in *WṢ*, 384.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ja'far b. Abī Qāsim al-'Abdī—Yazīd b. 'Alqamah—Zayd b. Badr al-'Abdī: Ziyād b. Khaṣafah came to Banū 'Abd al-Qays at the time of Ṣiffīn. The tribes of Ḥimyar together with 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, had been made ready under Dhū al-Kalā' against the Bakr b. Wā'il. The Bakr were so fiercely attacked that they were afraid of being wiped out, and Ziyād b. Khaṣafah said, "Oh 'Abd al-Qays, there will be no Bakr left after this day!"

We ('Abd al-Qays) mounted our horses and then went forward and contested the fight. It was not long before Dhū al-Kalā' was struck down and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar killed. Hamdān said that Hāni' b. Khaṭṭāb al-Arḥabī[254] killed him, while Ḥaḍramawt said that
[3315] it was Mālik b. 'Amr al-Tin'ī.[255] Bakr b. Wā'il, however, said that Muḥriz b. al-Ṣaḥṣaḥ of the Banū 'Ā'ish b. Mālik b. Taymallāh b. Tha'labah[256] killed 'Ubaydallāh and took his sword, Dhū al-Wishāḥ.[257] Mu'āwiyah criticized Bakr b. Wā'il in al-Kūfah for that (when he came there at the end of the *fitnah*). They insisted that it was one of their number in al-Baṣrah, called Muḥriz b. al-Ṣaḥṣaḥ, who had killed 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar. Mu'āwiyah sent to him and took the sword from him. The chief of al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ was 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr of the Banū Taym.[258]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Kalbī), it was Muḥriz b. al-Ṣaḥṣaḥ who killed 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar. He took his sword, Dhū al-Wishāḥ, which had belonged to ('Ubaydallāh's father) 'Umar. Ka'b b. Ju'ayl al-Taghlabī said about that:

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254. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, has him as Khaṭṭāb b. Hāni' (s.v. Ḥaṭṭāb); for Arḥab of Hamdān, see ibid., I, table 231.

255. *WṢ*, 298, calls him al-Sabī'ī. The Sabī', who were prominent in al-Kūfah, were a branch of Hāshid/Hamdān, but Tin'ī seems better because it has specific connections with Ḥaḍramawt (see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb*, I, 183).

256. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; 'Ā'ish b. Mālik were part of the Banū Shaybān of Bakr b. Wā'il/Rabī'ah.

257. That is, "Lord of the Sword Belt."

258. The ms. had Tamīm (and so too *WṢ*, 304), but the editor suggested emendation to Taym; the Cairo edition rightly supplies the Banū Taymallāh b. al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ of Rabī'ah (Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 141). It is not immediately obvious how this last sentence relates to the story that is the subject of the rest of the paragraph. It may be better situated as the first sentence of the paragraph reporting the death of some men of the Banū al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ, following the subsequent verses. The verses are attributed to a poet of the Banū Taghlib, of which the al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ were allies (idem, II, index, s.v. al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ).

The eyes weep only for a horseman[259]
    whose fellows fled at Ṣiffīn while he stood firm,
Exchanging (the company of) Asmā' (his wife) for the swords of Wā'il.
    He was a warrior; if only the fields of death had spared him.
(But) they left 'Ubaydallāh on the battleground,
    his flowing veins spitting out blood from the wound.

(There is more than this.)[260]

And on that day Bishr b. Murrah b. Shuraḥbīl and al-Ḥārith b. Shuraḥbīl[261] were among those of the Banū al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ killed. Asmā', the daughter of 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib al-Tamīmī,[262] was married to 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar, and then al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī took her in marriage.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—the nephew of Ghiyāth b. Laqīṭ al-Bakrī:[263] When 'Alī reached the Rabī'ah, they were vying with one [3316]
another (in deeds of valor), and they said, "If 'Alī is struck down among you, having sought refuge at your banner, you will be disgraced." Shaqīq b. Thawr said to them: "Oh band of Rabī'ah, there will be no excuse for you among the Arabs if hands are laid upon 'Alī while he is among you and there remains a man alive among you. But, if you protect him, you will win the glory of life." So, when 'Alī came to them, they fought more fiercely than they ever did before and 'Alī said about that:

Whose is the black[264] banner, the shadow of which quivers as it blows?
    When it was said, "Take it forward, Ḥuḍayn!" he advanced,
Going ahead with it into death in order to take it to visit
    the pools of fate that drip death and blood.

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259. That is, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar.

260. For fuller versions of these verses, see al-Dīnawarī, 178–79; *WṢ*, 298–99.

261. *WṢ*, 304, has *fulān* (so-and-so) b. Murrah b. Shuraḥbīl and al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Shuraḥbīl.

262. 'Uṭārid was a famous man of the Banū Dārim b. Mālik of Tamīm. See further, Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

263. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only citation of this transmitter.

264. In the version of these verses in *WṢ*, 289, the banner of Rabī'ah is described as "red" (*ḥamrā'*), which Hinds ("Banners and Battle Cries," 11) understands literally. We might take both "red" and "black" metaphorically to mean something like "blood-soaked."

We caused Ibn Ḥarb (Mu'āwiyah) to taste our spear thrusting and our striking
with our swords, until he turned away and recoiled.
May God reward a people who are patient and steadfast in their confrontation
in the presence of death, a people of surpassing virtue and nobility,
Of the most pleasing traits and most noble character
when the voices of men cry out in battle.
I mean Rabī'ah. They were a people of courage
and bravery in their confrontation with a numerous army.[265]

The Killing of 'Ammār b. Yāsir

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah al-Ḥanafī
[3317] 'Ammār b. Yāsir took the field and said: "Oh God, You know that, if I knew that your pleasure was that I should throw myself into this river,[266] I would do so. Oh God, You know that, if I knew that Your pleasure was that I should put the point of my sword against my breast and then lean on it until it came out of my back, I would do so. But today I do not know of any deed more pleasing to You than *jihād* against these evildoers (*fāsiqīn*). If I did know of any deed more pleasing to You, I would do it."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr al-Azdī: I heard 'Ammār saying, "By God, I see a people who will indeed strike you a blow as a result of which those who consider our religion a vain thing will doubt us,[267] but I swear by God that even if they strike us until they bring us to the palm leaves of Hajar,[268] we will know that we follow the truth and they falsehood."

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abbād b. Mūsā—Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl—Muslim al-A'war—Ḥabbah b. Juwayn al-'Uranī: I and Abū

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265. See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 116 (which also has the banner as red).
266. *Baḥr*, presumably indicating here the Euphrates.
267. *Yartābu minhu al-mubṭilūna*; see Qur'ān 29:48: *idhan la irtāba al-mubṭilūna*.
268. Probably referring to the fertile Hajar region of eastern Arabia, also called al-Aḥsā' (see *LA*, IX, 151b, s.v. *s-'-f*).

Mas'ūd[269] went off to Ḥudhayfah[270] at al-Madā'in and went in to him. He said: "Welcome to you both. There is nobody among the Arab tribes whom you have come from who is dearer to me than you two." I left the reply to Abū Mas'ūd,[271] and we said, "Oh Abū 'Abdallāh, report to us ḥadīth,[272] for we are afraid of the time of troubles (*al-fitan*)." He replied, "Hold to the party in which is Ibn Sumayyah ('Ammār b. Yāsir), for I heard the Prophet saying, 'The party of oppression that swerves from the (right) road will kill him, and his last sustenance will be milk mixed with water.'"

Ḥabbah continued: And I saw 'Ammār at Ṣiffīn when he was saying, "Bring me my final sustenance in this world," and he was [3318] brought a drink of diluted milk in a shallow bowl with a red rim. Ḥudhayfah was not wrong even by the thickness of a hair, for 'Ammār said: "Today I will meet the loved ones—Muḥammad and his party. By God, even if they strike us so as to bring us to the palm leaves of Hajar, we will know that we hold to the truth and they to falsehood." And he began to say, "Death is beneath the spears and paradise beneath the flashing swords."[273]

According to Muḥammad—Khalaf—Manṣūr b. Abī Nuwayrah—Abū Mikhnaf; and Hishām b. al-Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf; then in both lines of transmission Abū Mikhnaf cites from Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī: 'Ammār b. Yāsir said on that day, "Where are they who desire to please God and will not return to property or offspring?" A group of the men joined him and he said:

Men, let us go directly against those who seek vengeance
for the blood of Ibn 'Affān and claim that he was killed

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269. For Ḥabbah b. Juwayn, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḥabba b. Ǧuwain; Ibn Sa'd, VI, 123. For Abū Mas'ūd ('Uqbah b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī), who fought on the Muslim side at Badr, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Uqba b. 'Amr; Ibn Sa'd, III/i, 91. For Muḥammad b. 'Abbād, see al-Mizzī, *al-Tahdhīb*, XXV, 443–45.

270. For Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān al-'Absī, 'Alī's governor over al-Madā'in, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḥuḏaifa b. Ḥusail.

271. *Asnadtuhu ilā Abī Mas'ūd*. The meaning is rather elusive. In view of the subsequent *ḥadīth*, it is tempting to relate the expression to the use of an *isnād*, but no obvious sense suggests itself.

272. *Ḥaddithnā*; for the following *ḥadīth* and parallels, see Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *baghā*.

273. See the prophetic *ḥadīths* "the gate of heaven is beneath the flashing swords" (*al-suyūf al-bāriqah*) and "heaven is beneath the shadows of the swords" (*ẓilāl al-suyūf*) (see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.vv. *baraqa*, *jannah*).

> unjustly. By God, they are not after vengeance for his blood but have tasted this world and liked and enjoyed it. They know that, if they have to accept the truth, it will be a barrier between them and the worldly things in which they are wallowing. They have no precedence in Islam by which they might deserve obedience from the people or exercise authority over them. They duped their followers by saying that their imam had been killed unjustly, so that that they could be tyrants and kings, and by this trickery they have got where you see them. If it were not for that, not even two men would have followed them. Oh God, if You help us, many a time You have helped us, but, if You give them the rule, store up for them, for what they have done to Your servants, the most painful chastisement.

He and the band who had responded to him went forward until
[3319] they had drawn near 'Amr (b. al-'Āṣ), and 'Ammār said: "'Amr, you have sold your religion (*dīn*) for Egypt. Damn you, damn you! For long you have desired a deviation in Islam." And he said to 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: "May God cast you down! You have sold your religion to the enemy of Islam and the son of its enemy."[274] 'Ubaydallāh replied, "No, I only seek vengeance for the blood of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him." But 'Ammār said to him: "I bear witness, from what I know of you, that you do not seek the face of God in anything that you do. If you are not killed today, you will die tomorrow, so consider, since men are rewarded in accordance with their intention, what it is that you intend."

According to Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī—'Ubayd b. al-Ṣabbāḥ—'Aṭā' b. Muslim—al-A'mash—Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī:[275] I heard 'Ammār b. Yāsir at Ṣiffīn say to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ: "Thrice with the Messenger of God did I fight against the man

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274. Presumably indicating Abū Sufyān and Mu'āwiyah.

275. 'Aṭā' b. Muslim al-Ṣan'ānī and Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A'mash are well-known transmitters of *ḥadīths*; for Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 183–84 (s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥabīb b. Rabī'ah); Ibn Sa'd, VI, 119. *SNB*, X, 104 f. (citing from the *Istī'āb* of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr) has some parallels for the following reports, but most of the obscure and difficult passages are missing.

whose banner this is. This fourth time is no more pious or God-fearing."[276]

According to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [al-Rāzī]—al-Walīd b. Ṣāliḥ—'Aṭā' b. Muslim—al-A'mash: Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī said: We were with 'Alī at Ṣiffīn and we had assigned two men to (stand by) 'Ammār's horse to guard him and prevent him from being attacked. But, whenever they were distracted for a moment, he would himself make an attack and not come back until he had stained his sword (with blood). And once he made an attack and did not return until his sword had bent out of shape. He threw it at them, saying, "If it were not that it has bent, I would not have come back."

(Al-A'mash said, "By God, that was a blow of someone above doubt,"[277] and Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān responded, "Those there heard something and transmitted it, and they were not liars.")

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān then continued: I saw that whenever 'Ammār went into one of the wādīs of Ṣiffīn those Companions of Muḥammad (the Prophet) who were there followed him. And [3320]
I saw him go to the Mirqāl, Hāshim b. 'Utbah,[278] who was bearer of 'Alī's banner, and say, "Hāshim, one-eyed and a coward! There

276. Possibly meaning that on this fourth occasion the enemy is no less hostile to God than on the previous ones. *WṢ*, 321, has a variant (*wa-hādhihi al-rābi'a mā hiya bi-khayrihinna wa-lā abarrihinna bal hiya sharruhunna wa-afjaruhunna*), which specifies the three occasions as Badr, Uḥud, and Ḥunayn. In the variant 'Ammār is not addressing 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ but an anonymous questioner who is puzzled as to why the two sides are fighting when they share the same religion. In reply, 'Ammār points out the black flag of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and identifies it as the flag of the *mushrikīn*, against which he had fought together with the Prophet on the three occasions specified. 'Ammār's point is to identify the Syrian opponents as direct descendants of the polytheists who had fought against the Prophet.

277. *Ḍarbu ghayri murtāb* (see n. 267, above)

278. See n. 48, above. For an explanation of *al-mirqāl* ("the swift she-camel"), see p. 72, below. The following sentences are rather difficult and the meaning is obscure. It may be that the text is disordered. Given Hāshim's high reputation as a soldier (in addition to his participation at al-Qādisiyyah, he led the Arab army at Jalūlā', the battle that sealed the conquest of Iraq), the charge of cowardice is surprising and harsh. In *WṢ*, 326, it is explained that the words "one-eyed and a coward" were addressed jestingly to Hāshim by 'Alī, who had noticed that he was wearing two sets of armor. However, the same report than has an anonymous man of Bakr b. Wā'il use the same words, apparently really thinking that Hāshim was afraid (*qad intafakha saḥruka*). In ibid., 327, it is again 'Alī who makes the remark. At ibid., 328, 'Ammār addresses Hāshim, "There is no good in a one-eyed man who does not confront fear" (*lā ya'tī al-faza'*), and here the intention is evidently to goad Hāshim to make him fight harder.

is no good in a one-eyed man who does not plunge into battle. And then, what if some man from either side says, 'By God, this one is abandoning his imam, deserting his army, and holding back his effort?'[279] Mount, Hāshim!" Hāshim mounted and advanced, saying:

A one-eyed man who seeks a worthy opponent
has busied himself with life until tired of it.
It needs must be that he conquer or be conquered.[280]

And 'Ammār was saying: "Press forward, Hāshim; paradise is beneath the shadows of the swords and death in the tips of the spears. The gates of heaven have been opened, and the houris have adorned themselves. Today I shall meet the beloved ones, Muḥammad and his party."[281] Neither returned, and both were killed.

(Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān commented: The words "those Companions of the Prophet who were there" inform you, al-A'mash, about the two of them, that they had distinguished themselves as men of courage.)[282]

He then continued: And when it was night I said, "I will go to the enemy to find out if news of the killing of 'Ammār has affected them as it has affected us," for, when we left off fighting (each day), they used to talk with us and we with them.[283] So I mounted my

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279. *Ann.*, 37 A.H., §43, suggests reading *walyufirranna* (in al-Jāḥiẓ, al-*Bayān*, III, 301, 'Ammār includes the phrase *walyufirranna jahdahu* in a similar remark to 'Alī—but in a different context—with reference to Abū Mūsā) for *walyaṣurranna*. Cairo, V, 40, has *walyaṣbiranna*. The sense of *fa-idhā* is also questionable: *Ann.*, loc. cit., appears to understand it as the temporal adverb ("quand'ecco"), rather than the conditional conjunction *if*. *Bayna 'l-ṣaffayn* (? "on either side"; *Ann.* has "fra le due file") seems odd. I can find no parallel in *WṢ*.

280. See the variants in *WṢ*, 327, 355.

281. Leiden does not set as verse, but see *WṢ*, 341, 342; *SNB*, X, 104; and Cairo, V, 41.

282. *Yufīdu laka 'alayhimā man kāna hunāka min aṣḥābi rasūli Allāhi (ṣ) annahumā kānā 'allamā*. For the translation, see *Add. et emend.*, ad loc., and Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *'-l-m*, form II and *f-y-d*, form IV. Cairo reads *yufīdu laka 'ilmahumā man kāna*. . .*annahumā kānā 'alaman*, "Those of the Companions who were there will provide you with information about them, namely, that they were a banner (around which the soldiers congregated)." *SNB*, X, 104, has the phrase "as if he was a banner for them" (*ka-annahu 'alam lahum*) as part of the sentence that tells us that the Companions followed 'Ammār into the wadis of Ṣiffīn.

283. *Taḥaddathū ilaynā wa-taḥaddathnā ilayhim*. In spite of the subsequent *ḥadīth*, it seem unlikely that we are supposed to envisage meetings for the exchange of reports about the Prophet.

horse—early in the evening—and then I went into their camp. I found four men making the rounds together: Mu'āwiyah, Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, who was the best of them. I brought my horse in among them, fearing that I would miss what one of the discussants was saying.

'Abdallāh said to his father, "Father, have you killed this man in your fighting today, even though the Messenger of God has said what he said about him?" 'Amr asked what that was, and his son said: "Were you not with us while we were building the mosque[284] and everyone was moving stone by stone and brick by brick while [3321] 'Ammār brought two stones and two bricks at a time? The effort caused him to faint, and the Messenger of God came to him and began wiping the dust from his face, saying, 'Alas for you, Ibn Sumayyah! The people transport stone by stone and brick by brick while you move two stones and two bricks at a time, desiring (divine) reward. In spite of that the usurping party will kill you. Alas for you.'" 'Amr pushed 'Abdallāh's horse away and pulled Mu'āwiyah toward him. He said, "Mu'āwiyah, do you not hear what 'Abdallāh is saying?" Mu'āwiyah asked what it was, and 'Amr reported the story. Mu'āwiyah said: "You are a stupid old man. You keep on telling stories[285] while you slither about in your piss. Was it we who killed 'Ammār? It was only those who brought him here." And the men came out from their tents and bivouacs, saying, "It was only those who brought 'Ammār who killed him." I do not know who was the more strange—he or they.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) said: It is reported that when 'Ammār was killed, 'Alī said to the Rabī'ah and the Hamdān, "You are my armor and my spear!" About 12,000 presented themselves to him, and 'Alī went in front of them on his mule. He and they attacked together as one man, and there was no line of the Syrians that was not destroyed. 'Alī and his men killed everybody they came up against until they reached Mu'āwiyah, and 'Alī was saying:

I strike them but Mu'āwiyah do not see,
he of the bulging eye and the great belly.[286]

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284. The reference is to the building of the mosque in Medina.
285. *Lā tazālu tuḥaddithu bi-al-ḥadīth.*
286. See al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 370.

[3322] Then he called for Mu'āwiyah and said: "Why are the people being killed in our quarrel? Come, I will entrust God with the decision between us (*uḥākimuka ilā Allāhi*). Whichever of us kills the other, authority (*al-umūr*) will remain for him." 'Amr said, "The man has made you a fair offer," but Mu'āwiyah replied: "I have not been made a fair offer. You know that he has killed everyone whom he has challenged to combat." 'Amr said, "But it is not fitting that you should not accept the challenge and fight him." Mu'āwiyah said, "You cannot wait to get power after my death."

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Amrah[287]—Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī: I asked Abū 'Amrah, "Do you not see how splendidly equipped they appear (he meant the Syrians) and what a wretched flock are we?" He answered: "You look to your own state, make it better, and leave the others to themselves. They are as they are."

Hāshim b. 'Utbah al-Mirqāl and the "Night of Howling"[288]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Salamah: At evening Hāshim b. 'Utbah al-Zuhrī summoned the men: "Let anyone who seeks God and the next world come to me!" Many came to him, and he attacked the Syrians with a band of followers several times, but everywhere he attacked them they held firm against him and the fighting was fierce. He said to his men: "Do not let this steadfastness

287. The Leiden text here and subsequently reads 'Umrah; *Ann.* and Cairo both have 'Amrah. *WṢ* has two versions of this *isnād*: on p. 185 it goes 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Abū 'Amrah—his father, Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī; on p. 369 it goes 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—his father—Abū Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī, and there is further reference to Abū Sulaymān in the *matn*.

288. *Laylat al-harīr*. The verb *harra*, used of dogs, indicates snarling, howling, whining, and similar noises and actions. By extension it can also refer to other sounds, such as the turning of a millstone and the twanging of a bow. *Harīr* is also said to be used to indicate the looking of courageous men at one another (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). With reference to Ṣiffīn, Wellhausen (*Das arabische Reich*, 49) used the expression *die Nacht des Pfauchens* ("Night of the Peacock Chick"), rendered in the English translation (*Arab Kingdom*, 78) as "Night of Clangour." The expression *laylat al-harīr* is also used in tradition to indicate a part of the Battle of Qādisiyya (Ṭabarī, I, 2337–38). In that connection, *EI*², s.v. Ḳādisiyya, has "Night of the Cries of Sorrow."

of theirs that you see frighten you. By God, it is only the fervor of the Arabs that you see and their steadfastness beneath their banners and in their battle positions. But they are in error while you follow truth. 'Oh my people, be patient and firm and vie with them in steadfastness.'[289] Unite together, and let us march against our enemy with deliberation and purpose. Then stand firm, help one another, remember God, let no man ask his brother for anything, do not keep turning round, be valiant in face of their courage, [3323] and make *jihād* against them in expectation of your divine reward 'until God decides (*yaḥkumu*) between us and them, for He is the best of judges (*ḥākimīn*).' "[290] Then he went forward with a band of the *qurrā'* and he and they fought fiercely at evening until they were content with what they had achieved. At that point a young warrior came out against them, saying:

I am the son of the great kings of Ghassān,
and today I adhere to (*al-dā'in bi*) the religion (*dīn*) of 'Uthmān.
There has come a report that has caused much alarm,
that 'Alī has killed the son of 'Affān.

He rushed to the attack and did not turn away until he had struck with his sword. He then made free with abuse and curses, and Hāshim b. 'Utbah said to him: "Servant of God, after such talk there is conflict and after such fighting there is the reckoning. Fear God, for you are returning to Him and He will question you about this encounter and what you sought by it." He replied, "I am fighting you because your master does not perform the prayer ritual, as I have been told, and neither do you; I am fighting you because your master killed our caliph and you urged him to it." Hāshim said to him: "What have you got to do with Ibn 'Affān? It was the companions of Muḥammad and the sons of his companions and the *qurrā'* of the people who killed him when he introduced innovations (*aḥdāth*) and opposed the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Book. They were people of religion (*dīn*) and more worthy of handling the affairs of the people than are you and your companions. I do not think that the affairs of this community and of this religion have been neglected even for an instant."

289. Qur'ān 3:200.
290. See Qur'ān 7:87.

The young man replied, "Indeed, by God, I will not lie, for lying is harmful and achieves no good." Hāshim said, "The people concerned with this matter know best about it, so leave it to those who have knowledge about it." The young man said, "By God, I do not doubt that you have advised me sincerely." Hāshim said: "As for what you said about our master not performing the prayer ritual,
[3324] he was the first one to do so and he is the most knowledgeable (*afqah*) of God's creatures regarding the religion of God and the closest to the Messenger. As for those whom you see with me, each one of them is a reciter (*qāri'*) of the Book of God, not sleeping at night in his vigil. Do not allow these deluded miscreants to turn you away from your religion." The youth replied, "Servant of God, I consider you a righteous man, so tell me—is there any repentance for me?" He answered, "Yes, oh servant of God. Turn in repentance to God and He will relent toward you, for 'He accepts repentance from His servants and forgives sins'[291] and 'He loves those who seek to be clean.' "[292]

By God, the youth, on returning (to his own side), abandoned his fellows. One of the Syrians said to him, "The Iraqi has cheated you, the Iraqi has cheated you." He replied, "No, he has given me sincere advice."

Hāshim and his men fought fiercely. He was called al-Mirqāl because he used to rush (*r-q-l*) into battle. He and his men fought until they had overcome those who were around them and until they considered that they had achieved the victory. At sunset a squadron of Tanūkh came to them and pressed an attack against the men. Hāshim fought them, saying:

A one-eyed man who seeks a worthy opponent
has occupied himself with life until tired of it.
He fells them with the knotty-shafted spear.

They claimed that he killed nine or ten on that day, but al-Ḥārith b. al-Mundhir al-Tanūkhī attacked him and pierced him with a spear, and Hāshim fell. 'Alī sent to him, saying, "Take your banner forward," but he answered the messenger, "Look at my belly," and

291. See Qur'ān 42:25.
292. Qur'ān 2:222.

behold he had been ripped open. The Anṣārī al-Ḥajjāj b. Ghaziyyah[293] said:

If you boast (of killing) Ibn al-Budayl and Hāshim,
we have killed Dhū al-Kalā' and Ḥawshab.[294] [3325]
We have left, after meeting you in battle,
your brother 'Ubaydallāh[295] as meat stripped from the bone.
And we have surrounded the camel and its people[296]
and given you deadly poison to drink.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī: 'Alī passed near a group of the Syrians, among them al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah, who were abusing him verbally. He was told about that and stopped with those of his men who were close to them and said:

> Attack them! The presence of God, the dignity, the dignity of Islam,[297] and the sign of the righteous[298] be with you. By God, those among them who are closest to ignorance[299] are their leaders and the one who has mustered

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293. Of the Banū Najjār/Anṣār, he is referred to on pp. 163, below, as being in Egypt with Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. *WṢ*, 401, has the first verse as part of a long poem attributed to Jarīsh al-Sakūnī, but refers to al-Ḥajjāj on p. 448 among a group of Anṣārīs supporting 'Alī.

294. This seems to be the only reference to Ḥawshab in Ṭabarī's material on Ṣiffīn, but he is mentioned frequently in *WṢ*. See also Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḥaušab b. Yazīd . . . b. Ḏī Ẓulaim.

295. That is, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

296. *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §46, suggests an allusion to the Battle of the Camel.

297. *'Alaykum al-sakīna wa-al-waqār waqār al-Islām.* For a discussion of the words *sakīna* and *waqār*, see Goldziher, "Ueber den Ausdruck «sakîna»," in his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, I, 177ff., especially 186 and n. 5. Goldziher notes the equivalence of *waqār* with Aramaic *īqrā* (= Hebrew *kabūr*), "abundance, honor, glory," and indicates the use of *īqrā* and *shekhīnā* together in Jewish Aramaic (for an example, see Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Bar Ilan, 1990), s.v. *'yqr*: "the glory of the divine presence"). In 'Alī's speech *waqār al-Islām* seems intrusive and may be a gloss. Perhaps a more basic translation ("the presence of God and the glory of God be with you") would convey the sense better.

298. See Qur'ān 48:29, etc., for formulas such as *sīmāhum fī wujūhihim*.

299. *Jahl*, "ignorance," here implies the complete opposite of Islam. 'Alī seems to be saying that the men who are named subsequently, although they might nominally be Muslims, are barely removed from the enmity that they showed to Islam in the *jāhiliyyah*.

them, Mu'āwiyah, together with Ibn al-Nābighah,[300] Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, and Ibn Abī Mu'ayṭ, the wine drinker who was flogged according to God's law in the time of Islam. They are just the ones who would stand and cause harm to me and find fault[301] with me, for even before today they have fought against me,[302] at a time when I was calling them to Islam, and they were calling me to the worship of idols. Praise be to God. Formerly the evil ones (*fāsiqūn*) acted with enmity against me, but God made them slaves—were they not "conquered"?[303] This indeed is the important and grave matter—that evil ones, who are not regarded with favor but are fearful of Islam and its people,[304] duped a large part of this community and caused their hearts to drink the love of *fitnah*, winning over their wandering desires with lies and falsehood. They have raised war against us in putting out the light of God.[305] Oh God, disperse their congregation, shatter their arguments, and deliver them for destruction for their sins. He whom You befriend is not cast down, and he whom You oppose does not wax mighty.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah—al-Sha'bī: 'Alī passed by a body of enemy men with a banner and saw that they clung to their position. He urged on the men against them and was
[3326] told that they belonged to Ghassān. He said: "They will not give up their position without an efficient spear thrust that will drive the breath from them and a sword blow by which heads will be split asunder, bones will be scattered, and from which wrists and hands will fall; not until their foreheads are split by shafts of iron

300. That is, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, here called derogatively after his mother.

301. See *Add. et emend.* for the suggested correction to *yajdubūnanī*; *WṢ*, 391, has *yashtumūnanī*.

302. *Wa-qabla al-yawmi mā qatalūnī.* For the use of *mā* after expressions involving *qabla*, see *Gloss.*, s.v. *mā*, with reference to Wright, *Grammar*, II, §127, rem. c, and other works.

303. *Fa'abbadahum Allāhu a-lam yuftaḥū.* The two verbs are undotted and Cairo reads *qa'īdahum Allāha a-lam yuqbaḥū.* "By God who watches them, were they not denied success?" which seems smoother.

304. *Wa'alā al-islāmi wa-ahlihi mutakhawwifīn.* It is difficult to see how *takhawwafa 'alā* can have its usual sense of "to fear *for*" here. See *Gloss.*, s.v., for *khawwafa 'alā*.

305. See Qur'ān 9:32; 61:8.

and their eyebrows are dispersed over their chests and chins. Where are those who will be steadfast and those who seek after eternal reward?" A band of the Muslims rallied to him, and he summoned his son Muḥammad and said, "March slowly against the people of that banner, taking your time, and when your lances are trained on their hearts wait until you hear my plan." They did what they had been told, and 'Alī made ready a similar group. When 'Alī had got close to them and the lances were trained on their hearts, he commanded those whom he had made ready and they attacked them, and he urged Muḥammad and those with him to attack from in front, and the Ghassānīs abandoned their position, while our men killed or wounded many of them. Then a great battle took place after sunset so that most of the men could perform the prayer ritual only cursorily.[306]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Bakr al-Kindī: 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b al-Murādī[307] was killed at Ṣiffin. Al-Aswad b. Qays al-Murādī was passing by him, and 'Abdallāh said to him, "Aswad!" "Yes," he replied "what can I do for you (*labbayka*)?" Seeing that 'Abdallāh was on the point of death, al-Aswad said: "By God, your being struck down pains me. By God, if I had been with you, I would have helped you and protected you, and, if I knew who has shed your blood, then I would not want him to get away before I killed him or was joined to you (in death)." He then dismounted and said to 'Abdallāh, "Indeed, by God, your neighbor has had security against your evil conduct,[308] and you have been one of those who frequently call God to mind, so give me your final instructions, may God have mercy on you." 'Abdallāh said, "I recommend to you the fear of God, that you faithfully serve the Commander of the Faithful, and that you

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306. *Īmā'an*, literally, "by sign or gesture"; for *ḥadīth*s regarding the circumstances in which such a form of prayer is permissible, see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v. *w-m-'*, form IV.

307. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only mention of 'Abdallāh, for whom see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, II, 363 (no. 4918); for al-Aswad in the fighting against the Khawārij, see p. 131, below. There seems to be some confusion in the sources: *SNB* (cited by the editor of *WṢ*, 456) refers to 'Abdallāh b. Budayl al-Khuzā'ī (see n.128) and al-Aswad b. Ṭuhmān al-Khuzā'ī, while the index of *WṢ* confuses 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b al-Murādī with 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b al-Nahdī, who likewise fell at Ṣiffīn fighting for 'Alī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

308. *Bawā'iq*. The phrase seems to mean something like "you have led a good life and observed your duties toward your neighbor." See Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *b-w-q*, and Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *bā'iqah*, for the occurrence of the phrase in *ḥadīth*s.

[3327] fight the transgressors (*muḥillīn*) with him until you are victorious or are united with God." Then he said, "Give him my greetings and say to him, 'Fight for the battlefield so that you put it behind you,[309] for he who finds on the morrow that the battlefield is behind him, will be superior.' " Shortly after that he died. Al-Aswad then went and informed 'Alī, who said, "May God have mercy upon him. In life he made *jihād* for us against our enemies, and in death he has offered us sincere advice."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, *mawlā* of the Banū al-Muṭṭalib:[310] It was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥanbal ad-Jumaḥī[311] who expressed these opinions to 'Alī at Ṣiffin.

According to Hishām—'Awānah: On that day Ibn Ḥanbal began to say:

If you kill me, Ibn Ḥanbal am I,
he who said, "A hairy one is nigh."[312]

According to Abū Mikhnaf (whose account now continues): The men fought for the whole of that night until morning—that was the "night of howling"—until the lances were broken, the stock of arrows exhausted, and the men had resorted to swords. 'Alī moved between his right and left wings, ordering every squadron of the *qurrā'* to advance on those adjacent to them. He kept that up, leading the men until, when morning came, the entire battlefield was behind his back.[313] Al-Ashtar commanded the right wing and Ibn 'Abbās the left. 'Alī was in the center, and the men were fighting on every side. It was Friday.

Al-Ashtar started to move forward with the right wing, fighting with them. He had been in charge of them on Thursday evening

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309. *Qātil 'an al-ma'rakah ḥattā taj'alahā khalfa ẓahrika.* Perhaps signifying, "fight so fiercely that the battlefield comes to be behind you (because you have advanced so far)"? Cf. the report of Abū Mikhnaf, below.

310. That is, Ibn Isḥāq, the compiler of the *Sīrah* (d. 151/768).

311. For this poet of Quraysh, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

312. There are more anti-'Uthmān verses ascribed to 'Abd al-Raḥmān in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 398, no. 1715 (= *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §238). For an explanation of *al-Na'thal* ("hairy") as an abusive nickname for the caliph 'Uthmān, see *The Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif of Tha'ālibī*, tr. C. E. Bosworth (Edinburgh, 1968), 56, and the literature cited there.

313. *Wa al-ma'rakah kulluhā khalfa ẓahrihi.*

and night[314] until dawn appeared, and he kept saying to his men, "Go forward the length of this spear," advancing with them toward the Syrians. When they had carried out his order he would say, "Go forward the length of this bow." When they had carried out his order [3328] he would command them again in a similar manner until most of them had run out of courage. When al-Ashtar saw that he said, "I pray to God lest you suckle from sheep from now on."[315] Then he called for his horse and left his banner with Ḥayyān b. Hawdhah al-Nakha'ī,[316] while he went around among the squadrons, saying, "Who will purchase his life from God and fight with al-Ashtar until he is victorious or joins God?" And no man of those who had gone out to join him and Ḥayyān b. Hawdhah withdrew.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—'Umārah b. Rabī'ah al-Jarmī: By God, al-Ashtar passed by me, and I went forward with him and many men joined him. He proceeded until he had returned to the place of the right wing, where he led his men and said: "Launch an attack! May my paternal and maternal uncles be a ransom for you, by which you will please your Lord and glorify your religion (*dīn*). When I attack, attack!" Then he dismounted and struck the face of his mount,[317] and he said to his standard bearer, "Advance with it." He and his men with him then attacked the enemy and fought the Syrians until they had pushed them as far as their camp. They fought him fiercely by the camp, and his standard bearer was killed. 'Alī, seeing the victory of his men, began to send reinforcements.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad (al-Marwazī)—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Juwayriyah: At Ṣiffīn 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said to Wardān: "Do you know what we two may be compared with? With

314. Literally, "on Thursday evening and Friday night." The day was counted as beginning and ending at sunset.

315. For the expression, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *raḍi'a*: used of a man who becomes mean, sordid, or ignoble.

316. Already reported as having been killed on p. 57, above. It could be that, with *WṢ*, 286, we should read Ḥanān on p. 57, possibly that we should amend here to Hāni' b. Hawdhah al-Nakha'ī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.), or perhaps that we simply have variant traditions.

317. That is, to cause it to flee so that he himself could not escape if the battle were going against him. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *ḍ-r-b*.

the sorrel camel[318] that, if it presses ahead, is hamstrung and, if it lags behind, is slaughtered. If you lag behind, I will cut off your head. Bring me a cord." (He did so, and 'Amr) fixed it on the feet
[3329] of Wardān, who said: "By God, 'Abū 'Abdallāh, I will lead you to the pool of death. Put your hand on my shoulder." Then he began to go forward, looking at 'Amr from time to time and saying, "Indeed I will lead you to the pool of death."

(Resuming the account of Abū Mikhnaf:) When 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ saw that the position of the Iraqis had strengthened and was afraid that it would lead to destruction, he said to Mu'āwiyah, "What if I put something to you that can only increase our unity and their division?" "All right," said Mu'āwiyah. 'Amr said, "We will raise the *maṣāḥif*[319] and say, 'their contents are to be authoritative in our dispute (*mā fīhā ḥukm baynanā wa-baynakum*).' Even if some of them refuse to accept it, you will find that some of them will say, 'Indeed, yes, we must accept,' and there will be a division between them. If, on the other hand, they say, 'Yes, indeed, we accept what is in it,' then we will have disburdened ourselves of this fighting and this warfare until an appointed time or a later occasion." So they raised the *maṣāḥif* on lances and said: "This is the Book of God between us and you. Who will protect the frontier districts of the Syrians if they all perish, and who those of the Iraqis if they all perish?" When the men saw that the *maṣāḥif* had been raised, they said, "We respond to the Book of God, and we turn in repentance to it."

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318. *Al-ashqar*, a sorrel camel or horse; if the latter, then one of the best sort (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). Ibn al-Athīr has a pun here: In response to 'Amr's question, Wardān says, "With al-Ashtar?" 'Amr answers, "No, with *al-ashqar*. . . ."

319. *Al-muṣḥaf* (of which *al-maṣāḥif* is the plural) may refer simply to a volume or a book but, used without further specification, usually refers to the Qur'ān or a copy of it. Many scholars, traditional and modern, have been happy to accept that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ's famous plan was for the raising of copies of the Qur'ān on the ends of the Syrian lances. Some, however, have seen problems in that interpretation: Most obviously, according to the tradition, this would have been relatively soon after the promulgation of the text by 'Uthmān (who is said to have had all variant copies destroyed), and it is hard to see that many manuscript copies could have been made as yet. Various theories have been proposed to get around this difficulty (see, e.g., Hinds, "Ṣiffīn Arbitration Agreement"). To allow for the possibility that, at the time of the Fitnah, *al-muṣḥaf* (or expressions such as *the Book of God* or *the Book*) did not yet designate the Qur'ān as we understand it and to avoid imposing an interpretation, the terminology of the text has been maintained in the following.

The Raising of the Maṣāḥif *and the Call for Arbitration*

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab al-Azdī—his father: 'Alī said: "Servants of God, carry on fighting your enemies, for you have truth and right on your side. Mu'āwiyah, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, Ibn Abī Mu'ayṭ, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah, Ibn Abī Sarḥ, and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays are men without religion and without *qur'ān*.[320] I know them better than you, for I was with them both as children and [3330] as men, and they were the worst of children and the worst of men. Alas for you! They have not exalted them (the *maṣāḥif*), and they do not exalt them and do not know what it is that they contain. They have raised them up to you only to deceive you, to outwit you, and to trick you."[321] They answered him, "If we are called to the Book of God, we are bound to respond." 'Alī said to them, "The only reason I have fought against them was so that they should adhere to the authority of this Book (*li-yadīnū bi-ḥukmi hādhā al-kitāb*), for they have disobeyed God in what He has commanded and they have forgotten His covenant and rejected His Book."

Mis'ar b. Fadakī al-Tamīmī and Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭā'ī, al-Sinbisī,[322] who were with a band of the *qurrā'* who afterward became Khawārij, said to him: "'Alī, respond to the Book of God when you are called to it. Otherwise we shall indeed deliver you up entirely to the enemy or do what we did with Ibn 'Affān. It is our duty to act in accordance with what is in the Book of God. We have accepted it and, by God, if you do not do what we tell you, we will do what we say." 'Alī said: "Do not forget that I forbade you to do this, and remember your words to me. As for me, if you are obedient to me, fight, and, if disobedient, then do whatever seems best to you." They answered, "At least send for al-Ashtar, and let him come to you."

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320. *Qur'ān* parallels "religion" (*dīn*), both of which are grammatically undefined.

321. *Innahum mā rafa'ūhā thumma lā yarfa'ūnahā wa-lā ya'lamūna bimā fīhā wa-mā rafa'ūhā lakum illā....* WṢ, 489, has *innahum wa-Allāhi mā rafa'ūhā anhum ya'rifūnahā wa-ya'malūna* (changed from the first edition's *ya'lamūna*) *bihā wa-lākinnahā*... "They have not raised them up because they recognize them and act according to them; (they have raised them) only...?"). There seems to be some punning involving *rafa'a* in the two senses of "to lift up" and "to exalt" and playing on the words *rafa'a/'arafa* and *'alima/'amala*.

322. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Zaid b. Ḥiṣn; he was of the Banū Sinbis b. Mu'āwiyah of the Ṭayyi'.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī—a man of the Banū al-Nakha': The informant saw Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar visit Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr,[323] and Ibrāhīm said: I was with 'Alī when the people compelled him to accept the arbitration (*al-ḥukūmah*), and they said, "Send for al-Ashtar and let him come to you."

(Abū Mikhnaf, continuing the narrative from Jundab al-Azdī:) So 'Alī sent Yazīd b. Hāni' al-Sabī'ī[324] to al-Ashtar to tell him to come. Yazīd went to al-Ashtar and gave him the message, but al-Ashtar
[3331] said that he should tell 'Alī: "Now is not the time for you to move me from my post. I am expecting success in battle; do not rush me." Yazīd b. Hāni' returned to 'Alī and told him the answer, but he had scarcely reached us when there was a cloud of dust and raised voices from the direction of al-Ashtar. The men said to 'Alī, "By God, we think you must have ordered him to give battle," but he replied: "What makes you think that? Do you think I spoke secretly with him? Did I not speak to him (the messenger) openly in your hearing?" They answered him: "Send for him and have him come to you. Otherwise, by God, we will withdraw (*i'tazala*) from you." 'Alī, therefore, said to Yazīd (the messenger): "Alas for you, Yazīd! Tell him, 'Come to me, for the *fitnah* has come.'" Yazīd told al-Ashtar that, and the latter asked, "Is it because of the raising of the *maṣāḥif*?" "Yes," he answered. Al-Ashtar said: "By God, indeed when they were raised I thought that they would cause division and disunity. It was the counsel of the son of the harlot. Do you not see what God has done for us? Do I have to leave the enemy and go away from them?"

I (Yazīd b. Hāni') said: I asked him, "Would you like to be victorious here while the Commander of the Faithful is driven from the place where he is or is made to submit there?" "No, by God," he replied; "Glory be to God." Yazīd said, "They have told 'Alī, 'Send to al-Ashtar and have him come to you, or we will kill you as we killed Ibn 'Affān.'"

So al-Ashtar came to them and addressed them: "Men of Iraq! Men of baseness and feebleness! (Will you abandon the battle) when you have won the upper hand over the enemy and they think that

323. That is, at the time when Muṣ'ab was governor of Iraq, after his defeat of al-Mukhtār, and Ibrāhīm was one of his leading commanders.

324. Al-Sabī' b. Sab' of the Banū Hamdān.

you are defeating them?[325] They have raised the *maṣāḥif*, calling you to what is in them but, by God, they have abandoned what God commanded in them and the example (*sunnah*) of him to whom they were sent down. Do not respond to those people. Just [3332]
grant me the respite of a time between two milkings, for I sense success in battle." They answered, "No." He then said, "Just grant me the respite of a time of the running of a horse, for I am sure of victory."[326] They replied, "In that case we would be partaking of your sin (*khaṭī'ah*)."

Al-Ashtar said: "Tell me, now that the best of you have been killed and only the base ones remain, when were you in the right? Was it when you were fighting and the best of you were killed? In that case, since you have now withdrawn from the fighting, you are in the wrong. Or are you now in the right? In that case, those of you who have been killed, whose merits you do not deny and were better than you, are in hell." They answered: "Leave us alone, Ashtar! We fought them in God's cause, and we will now leave off fighting them for His sake. We will not obey you or your master. Get away from us." Al-Ashtar said: "By God, you have been cheated and allowed yourselves to be duped. You have been invited to leave aside war and you have assented. Oh you of the dark foreheads,[327] we used to think your prayers were a renunciation of this world and a longing to join God. But now I see that you merely flee to this world from death. Shame on you, you who are like the aged she-camel who seeks after filth to eat. After this you will never see glory again. May you perish just as those evil people perished."[328]

They reviled al-Ashtar and he them, and they struck the face of his mount with their whips while he moved forward, striking the faces of theirs with his. 'Alī called to them, and they desisted, and he said to the men, "We have agreed to make the Qur'ān an authority (*ḥukm*) between us and them."

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325. *WṢ*, 491, agrees with the reading *a-ḥīna* given in *Add. et emend.*

326. From "Just grant me . . ." to this point the translation includes material from the editor's footnote, which suggests that text has been omitted in the ms.

327. *Ann.* understands this term as a reference to their cowardice.

328. Possibly a reference to the Qur'ānic theme of the *umam khāliyah*, those communities that had been destroyed by God because they rejected the prophets He had sent to them (e.g., Qur'ān 11:94–95).

Al-Ash'ath b. Qays came to 'Alī and said to him: "The men all seem satisfied and pleased to respond to the enemy's summons regarding the authority of the Qur'ān. If you like, I will go to Mu'āwiyah and ask him what he wants, and you will see what he
[3333] asks." 'Alī said, "Go to him if you want and ask him."

Al-Ash'ath went to him and said, "Mu'āwiyah, why have you raised these *maṣāḥif*?" He answered: "So that you and we together turn to what God commanded in His book. You will send a man from among you whom you find acceptable, and we will send a man from among us, and we will impose upon them that they act according to what is in the Book of God, not opposing it. Then we will follow what they agree upon." Al-Ash'ath b. Qays said to him, "This is just," and then he went back to 'Alī and told him what Mu'āwiyah had said.

Our men said, "We are pleased and accept." The Syrians said, "We have chosen 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ," and al-Ash'ath and those who became Khawārij afterward said, "We are content with Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī." 'Alī said: "You disobeyed me in the start of this business; do not disobey me now. I do not think I should grant power to Abū Mūsā." But al-Ash'ath, Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭā'ī, and Mis'ar b. Fadakī insisted, "We do not find anyone else acceptable: What he warned us against we have fallen into."[329] 'Alī said: "I do not consider him trustworthy. He separated from me and caused the people to abandon me. Then he fled from me until I granted him security after some months. But here is Ibn 'Abbās; we will give him power in that matter." They replied, "It would not make any difference for us whether it was you or Ibn 'Abbās. We insist on someone who is equally distant from you and Mu'āwiyah, no closer to one of you than he is to the other." 'Alī said, "I will appoint al-Ashtar."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī: Al-Ash'ath said, "Was it anybody but al-Ashtar who caused this conflagration in the land?"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—his father: Al-Ash'ath said, "Are we not already under the authority
[3334] (*ḥukm*) of al-Ashtar?" 'Alī said, "What is that?" and al-Ash'ath answered, "That we should strike one another with swords until what you and he want comes to pass." 'Alī said, "Do you then refuse

329. That is, *fitnah*.

to accept anybody but Abū Mūsā?" and the men replied, "Yes." 'Alī said, "Then do what you want."

They sent to Abū Mūsā, who had withdrawn apart (*i'tazala*) from the fighting and was in 'Urḍ.[330] A *mawlā* of his came to him and said, "The people have made a peace." He replied, "Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds." The *mawlā* then said, "They have made you an arbitrator (*ḥakam*)," and Abū Mūsā said, "We belong to God and to Him we return."[331]

Abū Mūsā came and entered the army camp. Al-Ashtar went to 'Alī and said, "Assign me to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and, by God other than Whom there is no god, if I lay eyes on him, I will kill him." And al-Aḥnaf came and said: "Commander of the Faithful, you have been assaulted by a crafty and cunning man[332] and by one who made war against God and His Messenger at the beginning of Islam. I have tested this man (Abū Mūsā) and tried him out in varying circumstances,[333] and I have found him dull-witted and shallow in intellect.[334] Only somebody who can get so close to the enemy as to be in the palms of their hands, and be so far from them as the Pleiades, will avail us in dealing with them. If you refuse to make me an arbitrator on the question, at least make me a second or a third (delegate). (Then) I shall untie any knot that he shall fasten, and he shall not undo any knot that I tie, unless I have (already) tied for you another more binding (*aḥkamu*)." But the people insisted on (the choice of) Abū Mūsā and acceptance of (the call to refer to) the Book. Al-Aḥnaf said, "If you insist on Abū Mūsā, then make sure someone is watching him."[335]

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330. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 644, for this place, said to be between Palmyra and Ruṣāfah.

331. Qur'ān 2:156. This is a standard formula of resignation to God's will, often uttered on receipt of bad news, especially news of someone's death.

332. *Rumīta bi-ḥajar al-arḍ. Gloss.*, s.v. *ḥajar*, refers to Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, I, 520, for the similar *ramayta al-amra bi-ḥajarihi*; for the translation adopted here, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥajar*. The reference is to 'Amr's initial opposition to the Prophet and his acceptance of Islam only when it had become clear that it would be victorious.

333. *Ḥalabtu ashṭurahu*. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *shaṭr*, has the idiom.

334. *Kalīlu al-shafrati qarību al-qa'ri*; literally, "blunt of blade and lacking in depth." Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *qa'r*, has *ba'īdu al-qa'r* as meaning "of deep intellect."

335. Literally, "keep his back warm with the men"; perhaps, "give him some men to back him up."

They wrote: "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is what 'Alī the Commander of the Faithful has determined." But 'Amr said, "Just write his name and that of his father, for he is your commander but not ours." Al-Aḥnaf said to 'Alī, "Do
[3335] not efface the title of Commander of the Faithful, for I fear that if you erase it the office will never revert to you. Do not erase it, even though the people kill one another." 'Alī refused (to make the erasure) for much of the day, but then al-Ash'ath b. Qays said, "Erase this name, for God has removed it."[336] So it was erased, and 'Alī said: "God is most great! A precedent (*sunnah*) following a precedent and an example (*mathal*) following an example! I was writing in the presence of the Messenger of God on the day of al-Ḥudaybiyyah when they said, 'You are not the Messenger of God, and we will not lend credence to that—just write your name and that of your father,' and he wrote it." 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "God preserve us from this comparison—that we should be compared to infidels although we are believers!" 'Alī said: "Ibn al-Nābighah, when were you not a friend to the wicked (*fāsiqūn*) and an enemy to the Muslims? Do you resemble anybody but your mother who brought you forth?" 'Amr stood and said, "You and I will never sit together again." 'Alī said, "I hope that God cleanses my circle of you and the likes of you." And the document was written.

According to 'Alī b. Muslim al-Ṭūsī[337]—Ḥabbān—Mubārak—al-Ḥasan: Al-Aḥnaf told me that Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Alī: "If you want there to be a peace agreement, then erase this title." 'Alī took counsel. He had a tent that he had given the Banū Hāshim permission to enter and me (al-Aḥnaf) with them. He asked, "What is your view regarding what Mu'āwiyah has written—'erase this title'?" (Mubārak said: That is, the title Commander of the Faithful.) They replied, "God has removed it, for, when the Messenger of God made a peace with the people of Mecca, he wrote, 'Muḥammad,

336. *Gloss.* insists that *barraḥa* is not to be understood as an optative but with reference to the story of al-Ḥudaybiyyah in the following. The account refers to the tradition that at al-Ḥudaybiyyah the still polytheist Meccans refused to allow Muḥammad to use the title "Messenger of God" in the document they and he drew up at the time of their truce in 6/628. They insisted that he style himself merely "Muḥammad the son of 'Abdallāh." Muḥammad is said to have agreed to this apparently humiliating concession. See further *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥudaybiyya.

337. A Baghdādī traditionist who died in 253/867 (see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 382, no. 622, where Ḥabbāb [sic] b. Hilāl is named as one of his authorities).

Messenger of God,' but they rejected that until he had written, 'This is what Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh has determined.' " I said to 'Alī: "What is this comparison between you and the Messenger of God? [3336] In giving you the oath of allegiance we have not given any special respect to you as an individual. If we had known anyone among us with more right in this matter than you, we would have given him our oath of allegiance and then fought you. I swear by God that, if you delete this title, upon which I have given an oath of allegiance and for which I have fought against them, it will never return to you."[338] And, by God, that is how it was. Rarely was al-Aḥnaf's opinion set against that of someone else without its proving to be superior.

(The narrative of Abū Mikhnaf is now resumed.)[339] The document was written:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, this is what 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān have mutually determined. 'Alī has decided it for the men of al-Kūfah and those of their party (*shī'ah*) who are with them of the believers and the Muslims; Mu'āwiyah has decided it for the men of Syria and those believers and Muslims with them.
>
> We will comply with the authority (*ḥukm*) of God and His Book, and nothing else will bring us together. We will refer to the Book of God,[340] from its opening to its close. We will effect what it lays down and eliminate what it does away with. The two arbitrators (*ḥakamān*)—and they are Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī 'Abdallāh b. Qays and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ al-Qurashī[341]—will act in accordance with whatever they find in the Book of God. For whatever they do not find in

338. Cairo reads "upon which *you* have accepted an oath of allegiance and for which *you* have fought against them."

339. For variant readings of the following text, and variants in the names of the witnesses, see Hinds, "Ṣiffīn Arbitration Agreement"; and see Serjeant, "Early Arabic Prose," esp. 142–47.

340. Literally, "the Book of God is between us."

341. It is not clear whether we are meant to understand that the two names were part of the document or whether this is an explicit editorial interpolation. The two versions analyzed by Hinds contain the names.

the Book of God they will resort to the just precedent (*al-sunnah al-'ādilah*), which unites and does not divide.

The two arbitrators have from 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah and from the two armies pacts and covenants and from the people an assurance that they have security for themselves and their families. The community will be helpers (*anṣār*) for the two arbitrators regarding what they both determine, and the believers and Muslims of both parties are bound by God's pact and covenant that we will abide by the contents of this document (*ṣaḥīfah*), that what the two of them
[3337] decide upon is obligatory for the believers. Security, right conduct, and the setting aside of arms are to be between the believers wherever they go, for themselves, their families, their properties, those of them who are here and those who are absent. 'Abdallāh b. Qays and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ have sworn to God that they will decide the issue disputed among this community and that they will not return it to warfare or division so long as they are not disobeyed.

The appointed time for the decision is Ramaḍān, but, if the two of them wish to defer that, they may defer it by mutual consent. If one of the two arbitrators dies, then the commander of (his) party (*shī'ah*) will choose in his stead one of those who are recognized for justice and probity[342] and will not delay. The place in which they will make their decision shall be a place equidistant between the people of al-Kūfah and those of Syria, and, if they so wish and desire, only those whom they want may be present there with them. The two arbitrators will take whomsoever they wish of those (now) present and write the fact of their witnessing[343] to what is in this document. They will be helpers (of the two arbitrators) against whoever abandons what is in this document and desires impiety (*ilḥād*) and injustice regarding it. Oh God, we ask for Your help against whoever abandons what is in this document.

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342. *Min ahl al-ma'dalah wa-al-qisṭ*: for the concept of '*adālah* in Muslim law, see *EI*², s.v. 'Adl.

343. Read *shahādatahum*, not *shahādatahumā*.

It was witnessed by;[344] from among 'Alī's companions, al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī, Warqā' b. Sumayy al-Bajalī, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥill al-'Ijlī, Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī, 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṭufayl al-'Āmirī, 'Uqbah b. Ziyād al-Ḥaḍramī, Yazīd b. Ḥujayyah al-Ṭaymī, and Mālik b. Ka'b al-Hamdānī.[345] And from among the companions of Mu'āwiyah (it was witnessed by): Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī 'Amr b. Sufyān, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī, al-Mukhāriq b. al-Ḥārith al-Zubaydī, Ziml b. [3338]
'Amr al-'Udhrī, Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Hamdānī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid al-Makhzūmī, Subay' b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, 'Alqamah b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān, and Yazīd b. al-Ḥurr al-'Absī.[346]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—'Umārah b. Rabī'ah al-Jarmī: When the document (*ṣaḥīfah*) had been written, al-Ashtar was summoned to (witness) it, but he said: "May I lose my right hand, and may my left be useless after it, if my name is inscribed in this document in favor of peace or settlement. Do I not have a clear sign from my Lord about the error of my enemy,[347] and did you not have the prospect of victory if you had not agreed upon acting wrongfully?" Al-Ash'ath b. Qays said to him: "By God, you have seen neither victory nor wrongful acts. Come to us, for there is no reason for you to shun us."[348] He replied: "Yes, indeed, by God, there is reason to shun you in this world on its account and in the next on its account. God has shed by my sword the blood of men no worse than you in my view, and their blood was no less sacrosanct than yours."

'Umārah said: I looked at that man—he meant al-Ash'ath—and it was as if charcoal had been crushed on his nose (that is, he was black with rage).

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344. Again, it is not clear whether this is to be understood as a continuation of the text of the document ("Witnessed by: . . .") or as an editorial comment.

345. For al-Ash'ath, Ibn 'Abbās, and Sa'īd b. Qays, see nn. 55, 3, 66, above; for Yazīd b. Ḥujayyah, Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; for Mālik b. Ka'b, ibid., s.v. Mālik b. Ka'b Abū al-Ḥārith; Ḥujr b. 'Adī (see n. 71, above), appears in other versions as Ḥujr b. Yazīd (which may be a better reading).

346. For Ḥamzah b. Mālik. see n. 81, above; for al-Mukhāriq, Ziml, and 'Utbah (the brother of Mu'āwiyah), see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.vv.

347. *A-wa-lastu 'alā bayyinah min rabbī min ḍalāl 'adūwī.* Cairo has a *wāw* before the second *min*; *WṢ*, 511, has . . . *wa-yaqīn min ḍalālat 'adūwī.*

348. *Lā raghbata bika 'annā.*

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb: Al-Ash'ath went out with the document to read it to the men and to present it to them
[3339] to read it (themselves). He came with it to a party of the Banū Tamīm, among whom was 'Urwah b. Udayyah, the brother of Abū Bilāl (Mirdās).[349] Al-Ash'ath read it to them, and 'Urwah said: "Do you appoint men as arbitrators in God's business? Authority (*ḥukm*) belongs to God alone."[350] Then he wielded his sword and lightly struck the rump of his mount with it so that it plunged forward, but his companions shouted to him, "Control yourself!" and he withdrew. The people of al-Ash'ath's tribe and many others of the Yemenis were furious on his behalf, but al-Aḥnaf b. Qays al-Sa'dī,[351] Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī, Mis'ar b. Fadakī, and many of the Banū Tamīm came to al-Ash'ath and offered apologies and excuses. He accepted them and forgave them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zayd 'Abdallāh al-Awdī: A man of Awd[352] called 'Amr b. Aws fought alongside 'Alī at Ṣiffīn, and Mu'āwiyah took him prisoner with many others. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ told Mu'āwiyah to kill them, but 'Amr b. Aws said to Mu'āwiyah, "You are my maternal uncle, so do not kill me." The Banū Awd came up to Mu'āwiyah and requested, "Give us our brother," but he replied: "Let him be. By my life, if he is telling the truth, then we do not need your intercession; and, if he is lying, then your intercession will be of no use."[353] He asked 'Amr b. Aws: "How is it that I am your maternal uncle? By God, there is no marriage relationship between us and the Banū Awd." 'Amr replied, "If I tell you and you recognize it, then will it gain a safe-conduct for me from you?" "Yes," he said. 'Amr said, "Do you not know that Umm Ḥabībah the daughter of Abū Sufyān was the Prophet's wife?" "Yes, indeed," Mu'āwiyah answered. "Well, I am her son, and you are her brother, and therefore you are my maternal uncle." Mu'āwiyah said: "May God grant rest to your father! Among these there is nobody who

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349. For these two brothers of the Banū Ḥanẓalah/Tamīm, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Urwa b. Ḥudair and Mirdās b. Ḥudair.

350. See Qur'ān 6:57, 12:40, 12:67.

351. For al-Aḥnaf, a Tamīmī leader proverbial for his tact and diplomacy, see *EI*², s.v.

352. Apparently the Banū Awd b. Ṣa'b of Madhḥij, which had members in both al-Kūfah and Syria (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Aud).

353. Literally, "will come from behind him."

would have thought of it other than he (i.e., 'Amr b. Aws)."[354] Then he said to the men of Awd: "Indeed he has no need of your intercession! Let him go!"[355]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah al-Hamdānī—al-Sha'bī: The prisoners taken by 'Alī at Ṣiffīn were numerous, but he released them, and they went to Mu'āwiyah while 'Amr was advising the latter to kill the many whom the Syrians had captured. But they were surprised to find that the prisoners taken from their own side had been released, and Mu'āwiyah said to him: "'Amr, if we were to follow your advice regarding these prisoners, we would incur disgrace in the matter. Do you not see that our own captives have been released?" And he ordered the release of the prisoners who were in his hands. [3340]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ismā'īl b. Yazīd—Ḥumayd b. Muslim—Jundab b. 'Abdallāh: At Ṣiffīn 'Alī said to his men: "You have done something that has demolished strength, brought down might, caused weakness, and bequeathed lowliness. When you had the upper hand and your enemy feared destruction, when the slaughter was great among them and they experienced the agonies of wounds, they raised the *maṣāḥif* and summoned you to what was in them so as to obtain relief from you, to break off the fighting over the issue that divides you from them, and to await the accidents of fate, as a trick and a cunning trap. You gave them what they asked and insisted on leniency and forbearance toward them, and I swear by God that I do not think that henceforth you will agree upon right conduct or achieve a gate of discretion."

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) said: The document (*kitāb*) regarding the matter between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah was written, according to report, on Wednesday, thirteen days having elapsed of Ṣafar in the year 37 of the Hijrah. It was agreed that[356] 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah would come to the place of the two arbitrators at Dūmat al-Jandal[357]

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354. The point is that Umm Ḥabībah, Mu'āwiyah's sister, enjoyed the honorific title "Mother of the Believers" (*Umm al-mu'minīn*) along with the Prophet's other wives (see Qur'ān 33:6).

355. For *a* in place of *a-lā*, see *Gloss.*, s.v. *a*.

356. It is not clear whether we are to understand that the following was agreed in the document itself. *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §67, seems to think so and translates "con la clausola."

357. For this oasis on the borders between the Arabian peninsula and modern Jordan, see *EI*², s.v.

in the month of Ramaḍān and each of them would bring 400 companions and followers.

[3341] According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad (b. Shabbawayh al-Marwazī)—his father—Sulaymān b. Yūnus b. Yazīd—al-Zuhrī: At Ṣiffīn, when Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Ṣūḥān[358] saw the men contending with one another,[359] he said: "Hear and understand! Know well, by God, that, if 'Alī is triumphant, he will be like Abū Bakr and 'Umar, but, if Mu'āwiyah wins, he will not acknowledge any man's word as truth."

Al-Zuhrī said: So it was that the Syrians displayed[360] their *maṣāḥif* and appealed to what they contained. The men of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah[361] were filled with awe, and at that they appointed the two arbitrators. The men of Iraq chose Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and those of Syria 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. When the two had been appointed, the men at Ṣiffīn dispersed, and the two arbitrators stipulated that they should elevate what the Qur'ān elevates[362] and put down what the Qur'ān puts down, that they should make a choice for the community of Muḥammad, and that they would meet together at Dūmat al-Jandal or, if they did not meet for that,[363] that they should meet in the next year at Adhruḥ.[364]

When 'Alī went back the Ḥarūriyyah[365] opposed him and rebelled (*kharaja*). That was the first manifestion (of their movement). They exhorted him to fight (against Mu'āwiyah) and rejected his giving authority to (*ḥakkama*) men in something that was a matter for God's authority (*ḥukm*). They said, "Authority belongs to God alone" (*lā ḥukma illā lillāh subḥānahu*) and fought against 'Alī.

When the two arbitrators met at Adhruḥ, al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah[366] came to them among those of the men who were present there. The two sent to 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and to 'Abdallāh

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358. See n. 62, above.

359. Reading, with Cairo, *yatabārawna* (Leiden reads *yatabārrūna*).

360. *Nashara*, which could mean "to unroll," "to unfurl," or perhaps "to hoist" (like a flag); *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §23, understands it in this last sense—"sollevarono."

361. Literally, "the men of the two Iraqs."

362. *An yarfa'ā mā rafa'a al-Qur'ān*. Here the metaphorical sense of *raf'u al-Qur'ān* is explicit.

363. *In lam yajtami'ā li-dhālik*; possibly, "if they did not agree to that," although one would expect *'alā* rather than *li*.

364. Between Ma'n and Petra (see *EI²*, s.v.).

365. A name for the Khawārij, said to be derived from the village of Ḥarūrā', where they first gathered (see *EI²*, s.v. Ḥarūrā').

366. For this controversial Companion of the Prophet and future governor of al-Kūfah for Mu'āwiyah, see *EI²*, s.v.

b. al-Zubayr,[367] asking them to come with many men. Mu'āwiyah came with the Syrians, but 'Alī and the Iraqis refused to come. Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah said to some men of Quraysh who were well versed in public affairs, "Do you think anybody is well versed enough to devise it so as to find out whether the two arbitrators will agree or differ from one another?" They replied, "We do not think anyone knows how to do that." He said, "By God, I think that I will find it out from them when I am alone with them and question them." [3342]

He went in to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and spoke to him, saying: "Abū 'Abdallāh, answer my question. What do you think about us—a group of those who have removed themselves from the conflict (*ma'shar al-mu'tazilah*)? We are in doubt about the matter of this fighting, which is clear to you, and we thought that we should wait and be cautious until the community reached an agreement." 'Amr answered, "I consider you a band that has gone apart (*mu'tazilah*), behind the righteous ones but ahead of the evil ones." Al-Mughīrah went away, not asking him anything else, and came to Abū Mūsā. He questioned him just as he had 'Amr, and Abū Mūsā said: "I think you are the most steadfast of the people in holding the right opinion. In you is the remnant of the Muslims." Al-Mughīrah left without asking him anything else and met those well-versed men of Quraysh to whom he had said what he did. He said, "These two will never agree about anything."

When the two arbitrators met and debated, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "Abū Mūsā, I think that the first part of the truth we should determine is to decide in favor of those who fulfill their undertakings according to their fulfillment and against those who are perfidious according to their perfidy." Abū Mūsā said, "What do you mean?" and 'Amr said, "Do you not know that Mu'āwiyah and the Syrians have fulfilled their undertaking and come at the time and to the place upon which we pledged them?" "Indeed yes," said Abū Mūsā. 'Amr told him to write that down, and he did so. 'Amr said: "Abū Mūsā, do you accept that we should name a man who will have authority over the affairs of this community? Give me a name, and, if I can accept your suggestion, I undertake to do so; otherwise,

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367. Both sons of prominent Companions of the Prophet, and possible candidates themselves for the caliphate (see *EI*², s.vv.).

you must accept mine." Abū Mūsā said. "I suggest 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar." (Ibn 'Umar was one of those who had "gone apart" [*i'tazala*].) 'Amr replied, "I suggest Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān." Their meeting ended in mutual vilification.

[3343] Then they went out to the people, and Abū Mūsā said to them, "I have found 'Amr to be like those of whom God says, 'Recite to them the tidings of him to whom We have brought Our signs but he has cast them off.' "[368] When Abū Mūsā fell silent, 'Amr spoke and said, "People, I have found Abū Mūsā to be like those of whom God says, 'Those who were made to bear the Torah but then did not carry it are like the ass carrying writings.' "[369] And each one of them wrote down the simile he had coined regarding the other (to be sent to) the garrison towns.

Ibn Shihāb (al-Zuhrī) said: One evening Mu'āwiyah stood and addressed the people. He praised God in suitable terms and then said, "Whoever has something to say on this matter, let him show himself to us." Ibn 'Umar said: "I got up from my *ḥubwah*,[370] for I wanted to say, 'Men who fought your father in the cause of Islam have something to say about it,' but then I was afraid to say anything that would divide the community, or about which blood would be shed, or in which I might become carried away, for what God promised regarding the gardens (of paradise) is dearer to me than that. When Mu'āwiyah had returned to his dwelling place, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah csme to me and asked, 'What stopped you speaking when you heard what the man was saying?' I replied, 'I wanted to do so but then was afraid to say anything that would be divisive, or about which blood would be shed, or in which I might become carried away. What God promised of the gardens is dearer to me than that.' " Ibn 'Umar said, "Ḥabīb said, 'You have been preserved by God from evil.' "[371]

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368. Qur'ān 7:175, which continues, "and Satan followed after him and he became one of those who go astray" (*al-ghāwīn*).

369. Qur'ān 62:5.

370. On the *ḥubwah*, a garment or piece of cloth used to wrap around oneself when sitting on the ground with the knees drawn up against the chest, or the act of sitting in such a posture, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.vv. *ḥubwah* and *ḥ-b-w*, form VIII.

371. *'Uṣimta*. The story is illustrative of Ibn 'Umar's unwillingness to become involved in the *fitnah*. See the report in al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 29 (*ghazwat al-khandaq*).

(The narrative of Abū Mikhnaf resumes.) According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī: After the document (*ṣaḥīfah*) had been written, 'Alī was told, "Al-Ashtar will not agree to what is in it, but insists on fighting." 'Alī replied: "By God, I did not accept (the appeal to stop the fighting) and I did not want you to accept it, but, after you insisted, I agreed. Now, since I have accepted it, it is not right to reject it again and to change our mind after confirming it, unless God is disobeyed and His Book transgressed. Fight those who have neglected God's command, but, as for he who you tell me has forsaken my command and my position, he is not one of those. I have no fear that he will be like that. Would that there were two like him among you; would that there was one like him, who sees my foe as I do. Then the burden of you would become light for me and I would hope that some of your deviation would be returned to the straight path for me, for I ordered you not to do what you have done, but you disobeyed me. I and you are as the brother of Hawāzin said: [3344]

Am I anything but one of Ghaziyyah? If it goes astray,
so do I, and, if it follows the right path, so do I."[372]

A group of those with him said, "Commander of the Faithful, we have only done what you have done." 'Alī said: "Yes, but why was your answer to them in favor of our stopping fighting? As for the decision (to appoint arbiters), we have given you a pledge regarding it, and all I wanted was for you not fall into error, please God, the Lord of the worlds."

The document (*kitāb*) was written in the month of Ṣafar, and the time appointed for the meeting of the two arbitrators was Ramaḍān, eight months later. Then men buried their dead, and 'Alī gave the order to al-A'war[373] to call upon the men to depart.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—his father: When we left Ṣiffīn we took a different road from that by which we had come. We went by way of the open country on the [3345]

372. In al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitab al-Aghānī*, X, 8, line 8, the verse is attributed to Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah of the Banū Jusham b. Mu'āwiyah/Hawāzin, of which Ghaziyyah b. Jusham was a subclan (see Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 116).

373. Possibly to be identified with al-A'war al-Shannī, the poet (see the index to *WṢ*, s.v.).

bank of the Euphrates as far as Hīt and then by way of Ṣandawdā'.[374] There the Anṣārī descendants of Sa'd b. Ḥarām[375] came out and met 'Alī and proposed to him that he should pitch camp, and he passed the night among them.

The next morning, we continued the journey with him, and, when we had passed al-Nukhaylah and could see the houses of al-Kūfah, we came upon an old man sitting in the shade of a house, whose face bore traces of illness. 'Alī went to him (and we were with him) and greeted him, and so did we. He returned 'Alī's greetings in such a handsome manner that we guessed he must have recognized 'Alī. 'Alī said to him: "I see that your face is changed. What caused that—is it from an illness?" "Yes," he answered. 'Alī said, "You must have suffered from it?" but he answered, "I am glad that it afflicted me rather than another." 'Alī asked, "Are you not expecting a divine reward for the way it has afflicted you?" and he replied, "Indeed yes." 'Alī said: "Rejoice in the mercy of your Lord and the forgiveness of your sins. Who are you, servant of God?" He answered, "I am Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaym." "Of what people?" asked 'Alī. "In origin I am from Salāmān Ṭayyi', but I live among and count myself as one of the Banū Sulaym b. Manṣūr."[376] 'Alī said: "Praise be to God, how excellent is your name and that of your father, that of your adopted relatives and of those to whom you trace your descent. Have you been with us on this expedition?" He said: "No, by God, I have not. I wanted to, but the scourge of the fever, the traces of which you see, prevented me." 'Alī said: "The weak, the sick, and those who do not have the means to spend (in contributing to the support of *jihād*) are exempt from blame if they are true toward God and His Messenger, and there may not be any compulsion against those who do good. God is forgiving and merciful."[377] Tell me what the people

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374. For Ṣandawdā' (or Ṣandūdā'), south of Hīt (n. 40, above), see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 420.

375. Read Sa'd b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām (as noted in *Ann.*, 37 A.H., §69); he is reported as having been appointed over Ṣandawdā' by Khālid b. al-Walīd in 13/634, to enforce the submission of various Christian Arabs there (see Ṭabarī, I, 2109; al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, 110).

376. The index to the Leiden edition has Salāmān Ṭayyi' (to which this is the only reference) as a person, whereas the Cairo index lists the name as that of a tribe. Possibly it refers to Salāmān b. Thu'al of the Ṭayyi' (for which, see Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 253). For the Banū Sulaym b. Manṣūr of Qays, see ibid., table 92.

377. Qur'ān 9:91.

say about what has happened between us and the Syrians." The old man said, "There are some who are pleased by it, and they are the faithless ones; but there are some who are crushed and sad about it, and they are those who are true to you." 'Alī went to leave and said: "You have spoken truly. May God make your sufferings a decrease of your sins.[378] There is no heavenly reward for illness, but it does decrease any sin that a servant of God incurs. There is only a reward for speaking with the tongue and acting with hand and foot, but God, who is to be greatly praised, admits to paradise a great multitude of his servants by reason of the purity of their intentions and the righteousness of their hearts." [3346]

Then 'Alī went on a short distance, and 'Abdallāh b. Wadī'ah al-Anṣārī[379] met him. He drew near, greeted him, and journeyed along with him. 'Alī asked him, "What have you heard the people saying about what we have done?" He replied, "Some of them approve and others disapprove, just as God said, 'They persist in their differences except for those upon whom your Lord has mercy.' "[380] 'Alī said to him, "What do those of sound understanding say about it?" He answered: "They say: 'Alī had a mighty body of support and he split it, he had a firm fortress and he razed it. How long will it take him to rebuild what he destroyed and to reunite what he sundered? If he had pressed on with those who obeyed him when those who disobeyed him disobeyed him, and if he had fought until he was victorious or had perished, that would have been good judgment (*ḥazm*).' " 'Alī said:

> Did I destroy, or did they destroy? Did I split asunder, or did they? As for their saying, "If he had pressed on with those who obeyed him when those who disobeyed him disobeyed him and fought until he was victorious or had perished, that would have been good judgment," by God, it is not as if I did not think of that. I have no concern for the things of this world and am content with death. I

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378. *Ḥaṭṭ*^an^ *li-sayyi'ātika.* For discussion of the benefits of pain, suffering, and illness, see the chapters with titles such as *Fī ajr al-marīḍ* in the *ḥadīth* collections, and Wensick, *Concordances*, s.vv. *marḍ, marīḍ*.

379. Perhaps the son of Wadī'ah b. 'Amr, a *ḥalīf* of the Banū al-Najjār, who fought at Badr (Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 58; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 632, no. 9118).

380. Qur'ān 11:118–19.

> intended to advance against the enemy, but I considered
> [3347] those two who had rushed ahead of me (he meant al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn), and I considered those (other) two who had gone forward (he meant 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far and Muḥammad b. 'Alī).[381] I knew that if the first two perished, the progeny of Muḥammad would be cut off from this community, and I abhorred that (thought). And I was concerned for the second two lest they perish, for I knew that if it were not for my situation they would not have gone forward (he meant Muḥammad b. 'Alī and 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far). I swear by God that if I meet the enemy in the future I shall indeed meet them (in battle) so long as they (his three sons and his nephew) are not with me in any camp or dwelling place.

Then he moved on and, when we passed Banū 'Awf, on the right were the graves of seven or eight men. 'Alī asked, "What are these graves?" and Qudāmah b. al-'Ajlān[382] answered: "Commander of the Faithful, after you had departed Khabbāb b. al-Aratt[383] died, and his final wish was that he should be buried outside[384] al-Kūfah. (Previously burials were made only in the people's houses and courtyards.) He was buried outside the town (may God have mercy on him), and the others were buried alongside him." 'Alī said: "May God have mercy on Khabbāb. He entered Islam willingly, he made *hijrah* obediently, he lived as a fighter for Islam (*mujāhid*), and he was physically put to the test on several occasions. God will not neglect the reward of he who performs good deeds."[385] Then he came and stood over the graves and said: "Greetings to you, you of the

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381. The identifications are part of the Arabic text. Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were 'Alī's sons from Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet; 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far was the son of an elder brother of 'Alī (a line of descent that became the focus of messianic aspirations toward the end of the Umayyad period); and Muḥammad b. 'Alī was the already mentioned Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.

382. *WṢ*, 530, supplies the *nisbah* al-Azdī. The Banū 'Awf might be the branch of 'Adwān with that name settled in al-Kūfah.

383. For this early follower of the Prophet in Mecca, where he is said to have suffered mistreatment from Quraysh, see *EI*², s.v.

384. *Fī al-ẓahr* (*Gloss.*, s.v.). Wellhausen, *Reste*, 179, n. 1, refers to the discrepancy between *ḥadīth*s that forbid the use of houses for burial (Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v. *bayt*, p. 340, col. a) and reports that the Prophet and other early Muslims were buried in their houses.

385. See Qur'ān 9:120.

desolate abodes and forsaken places, of the believing men and women, and of the Muslim men and women. You are they who have gone ahead before us, while we come after you and will shortly join you. Oh God, pardon us and them and forgive us and them." And he said: "Praise be to God, Who has created you from it (the earth) and made it the place to which you return. He will make you arise from it again and gather you together upon it. Blessings upon he [3348]
who remembers the return, acts for the final reckoning, is content with a sufficiency, and is satisfied with the reward that God will bestow upon him."[386] Then he went ahead until, when he was opposite the lane of the Thawriyyūn,[387] he said: "Go in. Enter among these houses."[388]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Āṣim al-Fā'ishī: 'Alī passed by the Thawriyyūn and heard weeping. He asked about it and was told, "They are weeping for the slain at Ṣiffīn." He replied, "I bear witness for those of them who were killed patiently holding fast and expecting the rewards of martyrdom." Then he passed by the Fā'ishiyyūn[389] and heard crying and said something similar. He moved on and passed by the Shibāmiyyūn[390] and heard a great convulsion. He halted, and Ḥarb b. Shuraḥbīl al-Shibāmī[391] came out to him. 'Alī said: "Have your women taken control of you? Can you not prevent this wailing of theirs?" He answered: "Commander of the Faithful, if it were one house or two or three, we could, but 180 of this clan have been killed, and there is no house in which there is no weeping. As for us men, we do not weep but are happy for them. Should we not be glad for them on account of their martyrdom?" 'Alī replied, "May God have mercy on your slain and your dead," and Ḥarb began walking along with him while 'Alī rode. 'Alī said to him, "Go back." He stopped and repeated: "Go back. Someone like you walking with someone like me is a temptation

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386. *Wa-raḍiya 'an Allāh*; see Qur'ān 9:100, where the expression is often understood in the sense of satisfaction with the reward given by God, rather than with God Himself.

387. This district of al-Kūfah is referred to in Ṭabarī's account of al-Mukhtār's revolt (II, 628 = XX, 213, of this translation); the Thawriyyūn were part of the Banū Hamdān.

388. See Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, III, 148, for this speech over the tombs.

389. There were two clans of the Hamdān called Fā'ish settled in al-Kūfah.

390. For the Banū Shibām b. As'ad of Hamdān, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

391. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to him.

(*fitnah*) for the governor (*wālī*) and a humiliation for the believer (*mu'min*)."[392] Then he passed on and went by the Nā'iṭiyyūn,[393] the majority off whom were 'Uthmāniyyah.[394] He heard one of them, called 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd[395] of the Banū 'Ubayd of the Nā'iṭiyyūn, saying: "By God, 'Alī has done nothing. He went away
[3349] and then came back without anything." When they saw 'Alī, they fell silent, and 'Alī said, "These are the leaders of a people who have not seen Syria this year." Then he said to his companions, "A people from whom we have separated at the beginning[396] is better than these." Then he began to say:

Your brother is he who, if a mischance of fate distressed you,
did not continue silent in face of your grief.
Your brother is not he who, if matters become bad for you,
will persist in insulting and blaming you.

Then he went on, continuously uttering the name of God, until he had entered the governor's residence (*qaṣr*).

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—'Umārah b. Rabī'ah: They left for Ṣiffīn with 'Alī full of brotherly love and affection, and they came back with mutual hatred and enmity. Before they had left their camp at Ṣiffīn the cry "Authority belongs to God alone" (*lā ḥukma illā lillāh*) had spread among them, and they had set out, pushing each other aside all along the way, insulting one another and beating each other with whips. The Khawārij were saying, "Enemies of God, you have fallen short in God's affair and you have appointed arbitrators." And the others responded to them, "You have separated from our imam and divided our community." When 'Alī entered al-Kūfah, they (the Khawārij) did not go in with him but went to Ḥarūrā',[397] where 12,000 of them encamped. Their herald proclaimed: "Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Tamīmī[398]

392. It is not certain what this means unless the *wālī* is 'Alī and the *fitnah* is the temptation of pride—i.e., the story illustrates 'Alī's lack of vanity?

393. For the Banū al-Nā'iṭ of Hamdān, see Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 227.

394. That is, supporters of the murdered caliph.

395. *WṢ*, 532, has 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Marthad, which latter is a common name among the Banū al-Nā'iṭ.

396. Leiden has *anifan*; *ānifan*, as in *WṢ*, 532, seems better. The point is probably that 'Alī is criticizing their hypocrisy in remaining in al-Kūfah while not supporting him—at least he knew where he stood with those who had gone over to Mu'āwiyah.

397. See n. 365, above.

398. See n. 57, above.

is in command of the fighting, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Kawwā' al-Yashkurī[399] is over the prayer ritual (*ṣalāt*). After the victory authority will be consultative,[400] and the oath of allegiance will be to God and (conditional on) the commanding of the good and the prohibiting of what is reprehensible."

'Alī Sends Ja'dah b. Hubayrah to Khurāsān

In this year (37/657–58), according to reports, 'Alī sent Ja'dah b. Hubayrah[401] to Khurāsān.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)[402]—'Abdallāh b. Maymūn—'Amr b. Shujayrah—Jābir—al-Sha'bī: After 'Alī had [3350]
returned from Ṣiffīn, he sent Ja'dah b. Hubayrah al-Makhzūmī to (establish authority over) Khurāsān. He got as far as Abrashahr,[403] the people of which had espoused unbelief (*kufr*) and refused to yield. Ja'dah, therefore, went (back) to 'Alī, who sent out Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbū'ī,[404] who besieged the people of Naysābūr until they made peace with him, and so too those of Marw.[405] He took two maidens of royal blood who had been given safe-conduct, and these he sent to 'Alī, who proposed that they should enter Islam and that he should marry them to someone. They said, "Marry us

399. Like Shabath, he developed from opposition to 'Uthmān, to support for 'Alī, to support for the Khawārij, to support for Mu'āwiyah (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr [al-Kauwā']).

400. *Wa-al-amr shūrī*. Presumably meaning that a *shūrā* (council) will be appointed to choose an imam, just as was done on the death of 'Umar. One could also read the sentence as "Authority will be consultative after the victory, the oath of allegiance to God, and the commanding of the good and prohibiting of what is reprehensible." The last phrase (*al-amr bi-al-ma'rūf wa-al-nahy 'an al-munkar*) is of frequent occurrence in the Qur'ān; in theory it is a duty of all Muslim governments, but it is emphasized especially by those of an activist disposition.

401. His mother was a sister of 'Alī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ǧa'da b. Hubaira).

402. For 'Alī b. Muḥammad Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī, d. ca. 235/850, see *GAS*, I, 314–15; *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'inī; Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung," 103ff.

403. Abrashahr (or Abarshahr) was an alternative name for Nishapur (or Naysābūr), the major city of western Khurāsān (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VIII and 382–88). Both names could also be applied to wider areas, and in this report it seems that Abrashahr is the name of the province and Naysābūr that of the town. (See *EI*¹, s.v. Nīshāpūr.)

404. Dīnawarī, 153–54, calls him Khulayd b. Kās. At Ṭabarī, I, 2349, we are told that the name was also transmitted as Khulayd b. Ṭarīf.

405. Marw is the major town in eastern Khurāsān (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VIII and 397–400).

to your two sons," but he refused that. One of the *dihqāns*[406] said to him, "Give them to me, for then you would bestow an honor on me." 'Alī did that, and the two of them stayed with the *dihqān*, who spread out for them silken carpets and gave them food from golden vessels. Then they returned to Khurāsān.

The Secession of the Khawārij from 'Alī and His Companions, and Their Subsequent Return

In this year the Khawārij withdrew from 'Alī and his companions and proclaimed their formula "Authority (*ḥukm*) belongs only to God." Then 'Alī argued with them, and they returned and entered al-Kūfah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb (al-Kalbī)—'Umārah b. Rabī'ah: After 'Alī had come to al-Kūfah and the Khawārij had separated from him, his party (*al-shī'ah*) hurried to him and said: "We pledge ourselves to you with a second oath of allegiance. We are the friends of those whom you befriend and enemies of those to whom you are an enemy." The Khawārij said: "You and the Syrians have vied with each other in unbelief (*kufr*) like two horses in a race. The Syrians gave the oath of allegiance to Mu'āwiyah, following their whims, while you gave yours to 'Alī, stipulating that you are friends of those whom he befriends and enemies of those to whom he shows enmity." Ziyād b. al-Naḍr answered them: "By God, 'Alī only ever offered to accept our allegiance,[407] and we only gave him our oath, on (condition that he follows) the Book of God
[3351] and the example (*sunnah*) of His Prophet. Only after you had opposed him did his party come to him and say, 'We are friends of those whom you befriend and enemies of those to whom you show enmity.' That is our position. He is following the truth and right guidance and those who oppose him are lost and misleading."

'Alī sent Ibn 'Abbās to them, telling him, "Do not be in a hurry to reply to them and dispute with them before I came to you." Ibn 'Abbās went to them and they began to debate with him, and he

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406. The local gentry of the Sasanid empire, who remained as a distinct group for some time after the Arab conquest (see *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān). For reference to a *dihqān* in Egypt, see p. 145, below.

407. *Mā basaṭa 'Alī yadahu . . . illā. . . .* Literally, "'Alī only stretched forth his hand. . . ."

was impatient to reject their arguments and said: "What is it that you hold against the two arbitrators (*ḥakams*)? God said, 'If the two of them desire reconciliation, God will bring about agreement between them.'[408] (If that is how it is with a married couple), how much more so with the community of Muḥammad!" The Khawārij answered: "Regarding whatever God has delegated authority for to mankind and ordered them to look into and make better, that is for them just as He commanded. But what He has decided (*ḥakama*) and effected Himself is not for His servants to look into. God has decided for the fornicator a hundred lashes, and for the thief the cutting off of the hand, and it is not for His servants to look into that." Ibn 'Abbās said, "But God says, 'Two "just men" from among you shall judge (*yaḥkumu*) it.' "[409] The Khawārij replied. "Do you place the precept (*ḥukm*) regarding game (killed while the slayer is in a condition of ritual purity) and what passes between a man and his wife on a par with the blood of the Muslims?"

(The Khawārij said: We said to him, "This verse separates us from you. Do you consider Ibn al-'Āṣ a 'just man,' given that yesterday he was fighting us and shedding our blood? If he is a 'just man,' then we are not, for we are at war with him. You have appointed men as arbitrators (*ḥakams*) in the affairs of God, but God has effected His precept (*ḥukm*) regarding Mu'āwiyah and his party—that they should be killed or repent.[410] In the past they always rejected our appeals when we summoned them to the Book of God. Now you [3352]
and he have written between you a document and agreed on a truce and discussion,[411] but God has put an end to discussion and truces between the Muslims and the 'people of war' since the revelation of 'Quittance,' except for those who agree to pay the *jizyah*.")[412]

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408. Qur'ān 4:35, referring to dispute between a married couple.

409. Qur'ān 5:95, referring to adjudication of the penalty imposed on someone who kills game while in a state of ritual purity (*iḥrām*).

410. Literally, "return" (*yarji'ū*). Semantically the notions of return and repentance are close; see Qur'ān 9:5, where the polytheists (*mushrikūn*) are ordered to be killed unless they repent (*tābū*). Presumably that is the *ḥukm* to which the Khawārij refer; the variant wording is interesting.

411. *Al-istifāḍah*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *f-y-ḍ*, forms IV and X.

412. "Quittance" (*barā'ah*) is the title of *sūra* IX (also called *Sūrat al-Tawbah*) of the Qur'ān, in which *jizyah* (in Muslim law a poll tax to be paid by non-Muslims in exchange for toleration and protection; also a sign of inferiority) is mentioned in verse 29. However, the argument of the Khawārij here, with its general reference to the "people of war," does not distinguish (as the Qur'ān appears to) between "polytheists" and "people of the Book."

'Alī sent Ziyād b. al-Naḍr to them and told him, "See which of their leaders has the strongest support." He investigated and told 'Alī that the majority seemed to be gathered around Yazīd b. Qays.[413] So 'Alī left with some of his men, went to the Khawārij, came to the tent of Yazīd b. Qays, and entered. There he performed his ritual ablution, prayed two *rak'ahs*, and appointed Yazīd as governor over Iṣbahān and Rayy.[414] Then he left and went to (the others) who were disputing with Ibn 'Abbās. 'Alī told him, "Leave off debating with them. Did I not tell you not to, may God have mercy on you?"

Then 'Alī himself entered into debate with them. He praised God and extolled Him, and said, "Oh God, he who is successful (in his arguments) in this place most merits success on the day of Resurrection, but he who speaks in it and makes no sense[415] will be blind in the next world and straying yet more from the path.' "[416] Then he asked them, "Who do you say is your leader?" "Ibn al-Kawwā,' " they replied. 'Alī asked, "What led you to rebel against us?" and they told him, "The arbitration process (*ḥukūmah*) (agreed by you) at the time of Ṣiffīn." 'Alī said,

> I implore you by God! Do you know what I said to you when they raised the *maṣāḥif*, and you said that we should respond to their call to the Book of God? I said, "I know them better than you. They are men without religion (*dīn*) or *qur'ān*.[417] I was with them and knew them as children and as men, and they were the worst of children and the worst of men. Persist in your truth and your righteousness, for they have raised these *maṣāḥif* only to outwit you and to trick you." You rejected my view and said, "No, rather we will yield to them," and I warned you, "Do not forget what I have said to you and your disobedience to me." When
> [3353] you, nevertheless, insisted that I enter into a written agreement, I stipulated to the two arbitrators that they should bring about that which the Qur'ān has brought into being

413. See n. 92, above.

414. Two towns of western Iran, the former in the south, the latter in the north, of the province known as Jibāl (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map V, and 202–5, 214–17).

415. *Aw'atha*. See *Gloss.*, s.v.

416. Qur'ān 17:72.

417. See p. 79 and n. 320, above.

> and suppress what it has put an end to. For, if they both decide according to the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Qur'ān, it is not for us to oppose a decision that is made according to what is in the Qur'ān. But, if the two of them reject that, then we will be free of their authority.

The Khawārij said, "Tell us—do you think it is 'just' to give men authority in a matter of blood?" 'Alī replied, "We have not given men authority; we have made the Qur'ān the authority. But this Qur'ān is merely a writing set down between two covers. It does not speak; it is merely men who speak through it." They said to him, "Tell us about the delay—why have you made it in (pursuing) your dispute with them?" He answered, "So that he who is ignorant might know and he who knows might make sure. Perhaps God will reconcile this community during this truce. Go and enter your garrison town, may God have mercy on you." And they did so to the last man.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab al-Azdī transmitted from his father a report similar to that just narrated. But as for the Khawārij, they say: We said (to 'Alī), "You have spoken truly and it was just as you have said,[418] but that was unbelief on our part and we have turned to God in repentance from it. Repent as we have, and we shall give you the oath of allegiance; otherwise we will oppose you." 'Alī took the oath of allegiance from us and said, "Go in (to al-Kūfah) and we will wait for six months until the money (from taxation) is raised and the horses are fattened, and then we will go out against our enemy." We do not accept what they have said for they have lied.

Ma'n b. Yazīd b. al-Akhnas al-Sulamī[419] came to 'Alī about the delay in effecting the arbitration process (*al-ḥukūmah*), and said, "Mu'āwiyah has kept his promise. You keep yours. Do not let the bedouins of Bakr and Tamīm[420] change your mind." 'Alī ordered the putting into effect of the arbitration. They had separated from Ṣiffīn having stipulated that the two arbitrators should come with 400 men each to Dūmat al-Jandal.[421]

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418. That is, we did insist that you accept the Syrians' call to stop fighting.
419. See n. 100, above; presumable Ma'n was sent to 'Alī by Mu'āwiyah.
420. That is, the Khawārij.
421. The relationship of the various reports and the chains of authority claimed for them in the previous section seems quite ambiguous. Is the paragraph beginning

[3354] Al-Wāqidī claimed that Sa'd (b. Abī Waqqāṣ)[422] had been present with those who were with the arbitrators and that his son 'Umar did not leave him until he had accompanied him to Adhruḥ. Then Sa'd repented of that and entered the required state of ritual purity in Jerusalem for an 'Umrah.[423]

The Meeting of the Two Arbitrators at Dūmat al-Jandal

In this year (37/657–58) there was the meeting of the two arbitrators.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd—al-Sha'bī—Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī: 'Alī sent 400 men under the command of Shurayḥ b. Hāni' al-Ḥārithī, with 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, who led them in prayer and directed their affairs, together with Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī; and Mu'āwiyah sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ with 400 of the Syrians. They came to Dūmat al-Jandal at Adhruḥ.[424]

Whenever Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Amr the messenger passed between them not knowing what message he brought or what he took back, and the Syrians did not question him about anything. But, whenever the messenger of 'Alī came, his men went to Ibn 'Abbās and asked, "What did the Commander of the Faithful write to you?" If Ibn 'Abbās concealed the message, they speculated about it and said, "We think he wrote to you such-and-such." He would reply,

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"The Khawārij said, 'We said to him . . .,' " which has been put in parentheses, part of Abū Mikhnaf's report from Abū Janāb—'Umārah, or is it an interpolation into it? Similarly, the part beginning "But as for the Khawārij, they say: We said to 'Alī . . ." may be part of Abū Mikhnaf's report from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—his father, or it may be another interpolation. The source of the comment in the last sentence of that paragraph ("We do not accept what they [the Khawārij] say. . .") is not clear (Abū Mikhnaf?) and neither is that for the last paragraph (beginning "Ma'n b. Yazīd. . .came to 'Alī").

422. A leading companion of the Prophet, of the Banū Zuhrah of Quraysh, who might have been a candidate for the caliphate (see *EI*², s.v.). For his unwillingness to become involved in the events of the arbitration, see p. 105, below.

423. The "minor pilgrimage" to Mecca that may be performed at any time of the year (see *EI*¹, s.v.).

424. Ar. *tawāfaw bi-Dūmat al-Jandal bi-Adhruḥ*. The Leiden editor's note indicates that we should understand something like "they came to Dūmat al-Jandal or rather Adhruḥ," while the note in *Add. et emend.* suggests that a marginal comment might have found its way into the text. Some sources read *min Dūmat al-Jandal bi-Adhruḥ*, which *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §18, understands as "at Adhruḥ, coming from Dūmat at-Jandal." It is possible that the various formulas should be seen as attempts to reconcile contradictory traditions about the place of the arbitration meeting. For a modern attempt, see *EI*², s.v. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

"Don't you understand? Don't you see Mu'āwiyah's messenger coming and going without knowing what message he brings and takes back? You hear nothing from them, no word. But every day you are with me indulging in speculation."

There were present at that meeting: 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar; 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. [al-Aswad b.] 'Abd Yaghūth al-Zuhrī; Abū Jahm b. Ḥudhayfah al-'Adawī; and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah al-Thaqafī.[425] 'Umar b. Sa'd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ] went to his father who was at a water hole of the Banū Sulaym in the desert. He said to him, "Oh my father, you have heard about the dispute between the people at Ṣiffīn and that they have appointed Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ as arbitrators. A group of Quraysh have turned up with them. You should go and be present with them for you are a Companion of the Messenger of God and one of the *shūrā*,[426] and you never entered into anything that this community objected to. Join them, for you have the most right among the people to the caliphate." But Sa'd answered, "I will not do that, for I have heard the Messenger of God saying, 'There will be a *fitnah* in which the best will be he who is inconspicuous and fears God.' By God, I will never have anything to do with this matter."[427] [3355]

The two arbitrators met and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "Abū Mūsā, do you not know that 'Uthmān was killed unjustly?" He replied, "I testify to that." 'Amr said, "Do you not know that Mu'āwiyah and the family of Mu'āwiyah are his closest kin (*awliyā'*)?" He answered, "Yes, indeed." 'Amr continued:

> God has said, "Whoever is killed unjustly, we have given authority (*sulṭān*, i.e., to exact revenge) to his next-of-kin (*walī*); but do not let him (the *walī*) go to excess in killing (in revenge); he will be helped (*manṣūr*)."[428] So why do you

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425. Apart from al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah (see n. 366, above), all are leading members of Quraysh of Mecca, sons of figures active in the time of the Prophet, and now possible contenders for the caliphate. In Sunnī legal theory, descent from Quraysh was a necessary condition for the caliphate.

426. That is, the group of six appointed to choose a successor as caliph to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 23/644.

427. That is, the caliphate; in contexts such as this *al-amr* ("the matter" or "the affair") usually indicates the issue of the leadership of the community.

428. Qur'ān 17:33.

> refrain from supporting Mu'āwiyah, the next-of-kin of 'Uthmān, Abū Mūsā? (The status of) his family in Quraysh is as you know. If you are afraid that the people will say, "Abū Mūsā has given power to Mu'āwiyah,[429] but he is not one of the early Muslims," you have an argument in response to that. You will say, "I have found him to be the next-of-kin of 'Uthmān, the unjustly killed caliph, and the seeker of revenge for his blood, and I have found him adept in government and in managing things. He is the brother of Umm Ḥabībah, the wife of the Prophet, and he was a Companion to the Prophet, one of the group of Companions."

Then 'Amr hinted to Abū Mūsā that he would obtain a position of authority and said, "If Mu'āwiyah rules, he will bestow on you honors such as no caliph has ever granted."

Abū Mūsā answered:

[3356]

> 'Amr, fear God. Regarding what you have said about the nobility of Mu'āwiyah, it is not on the basis of nobility that those who are right for it are given power. If it were on the basis of nobility, then the rule would belong to the family of Abrahah b. al-Ṣabbāḥ.[430] Rather it is something only for people of religion (*dīn*) and merit (*faḍl*). Moreover, if I were to give it to the best of Quraysh in nobility, I would give it to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. And as for what you said about Mu'āwiyah as the one responsible for taking vengeance for the blood of 'Uthmān, and that therefore I should accord the rule to him, I will not give Mu'āwiyah power in it and abandon (the rights of) the first *muhājirūn*.[431] And concerning your hinting at a position of authority for me, by God, even if all of Mu'āwiyah's authority devolved on me,

429. Following the suggestion of *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §18, to read *wallā* for *waliya*.

430. Said to be named after his maternal grandfather, the famous Abyssinian ruler of the Yemen in the sixth century C.E., he is referred to in Dīnawarī, 199, as "one of the sons of the kings of the Yemen (*al-tabābi'ah*)" (see Ṭabarī, I, 2586; II, 211; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

431. Here perhaps meaning the surviving earliest followers of the Prophet who had moved with him from Mecca to Medina (such as Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ), and their descendants (such as 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr).

> I would not give him power, and I am not to be bribed in (a matter concerning) the authority (*ḥukm*) of God. But if you wish we will revive the name of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[432]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—['Umārah b. Rabī'ah or al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyaḥ]: Abū Mūsā said. "Indeed, by God, if I could I would revive the name of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb." 'Amr said to him, "If you want to give the oath of allegiance to the son of 'Umar, what prevents you from giving it to my son[433]—for you know his merit and righteousness?" He answered, "Your son is a man of righteousness (*ṣidq*), but you have submerged him in this *fitnah*."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Nāfi', the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar: 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "Only a man with a tooth, who eats and gives food, is suitable for this office."[434] Ibn 'Umar was oblivious and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr said to him, "Take note and pay attention."[435] 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar replied, "No, by God, I will not give anything as a bribe to obtain it (i.e., the rule)." And he said, "Oh Ibn al-'Āṣ, the Arabs have entrusted their affair to you after clashing with swords and fighting one another with spears. [3357]
Do not cast them back into the *fitnah*."[436]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ al-'Absī: I was with Shurayḥ b. Hāni' on the campaign in Sijistān,[437] and he told me that 'Alī had entrusted him with a message to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. 'Alī had told Shurayḥ that when he met 'Amr he was to tell him that 'Alī had sent him the following message:

> The most excellent in God's sight is he who prefers acting rightfully, even if it diminishes him and causes him

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432. That is, by appointing 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar.

433. That is, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (see n. 10, above).

434. *Inna hādha al-amra lā yuṣliḥuhu illā rajulun lahu ḍirsun ya'kulu wa-yuṭ'imu.* The context seems to indicate that the phrase refers to a man willing to take and give "sweeteners." See Dīnawarī, 200: "a man with two teeth, with one of which he eats and with the other gives food (succors?)."

435. Or, said to him, "Take note!" and he paid attention.

436. In the variant form of this report in *WṢ*, 542, the remark about the man with the tooth is made by 'Amr to Abū Mūsā, who has suggested that the rule should be offered to Ibn 'Umar. It is Abū Mūsā who is oblivious. Then Ibn al-Zubayr advises Ibn 'Umar to offer 'Amr a bribe, but he refuses and, instead, addresses the final sentence to 'Amr.

437. Shurayḥ (n. 26, above) is said to have been killed in Sijistān with the army of 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah in the time of al-Ḥajjāj.

> grief, over vain deeds, even if he yearns for them and they augment him. 'Amr, by God you know where the right lies, so why do you pretend not to know? If you are given the least thing that you covet, with it you will be an enemy to God and His friends, and (consequently) it will be as if you have lost what you have been given, woe unto you! "Do not be an adversary on behalf of the traitors"[438] nor a partisan of the evildoers.[439] Indeed, I know of a day when you will be remorseful—that is the day of your death, (when) you will earnestly desire that you had not displayed enmity to a Muslim or accepted a bribe for a judgment (*ḥukm*).

Shurayḥ said: I told 'Amr that, and his face became suffused with anger. He said, "When have I ever accepted the advice of 'Alī, done what he said, or taken account of his views?" I answered him, "Why do you not, Ibn al-Nābighah, accept the advice of your master, the one who, after their Prophet, is the lord of the Muslims? Those who were your betters, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, asked for his advice and acted in accordance with his views." He said, "People like me do not argue with the likes of you." I said, "On account of which of your two parents do you have a disdain for me—is it because of your low-class (*washīẓ*) father or your 'distinguished' (*nābighah*)
[3358] mother?"[440] 'Amr got up and left and I did too.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī: When 'Amr and Abū Mūsā met together at Dūmat al-Jandal, 'Amr at first gave Abū Mūsā precedence in speaking, saying himself, "You are the companion of the Messenger of God and you are my senior. Speak and I will speak." 'Amr had accustomed Abū Mūsā to think that he would give him precedence in everything, wishing thus to make him go first so he would take the initiative in deposing 'Alī.

Abū Mūsā considered the matter in hand and what they had come together for, and 'Amr wanted him to declare in favor of

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438. Qur'ān 4:105. The verse talks of God's sending down the Book "so that you may judge (*ḥ-k-m*) between the people." *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §21, translates *fa-lā takun lil-khā'inīna khaṣīman* as "non entrare in disputa coi traditori."

439. See Qur'ān 28:17, 28:86.

440. Shurayḥ is being insultingly ironic; 'Amr's father, al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il b. Hishām, was a prominent man of the Banū Sahm of Quraysh, while his mother Nābighah (= "distinguished") was a slave.

Mu'āwiyah, but he refused. 'Amr then wanted him to declare in favor of his son, but again he refused. Abū Mūsā tried to get 'Amr to declare in favor of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, but he refused. 'Amr then said to Abū Mūsā, "Tell me what you think." He answered, "I think we should depose these two men and make the matter consultative between the Muslims, who will choose for themselves whomever they like." 'Amr said to him, "I agree." They went toward the people who were gathered together. 'Amr said, "Abū Mūsā, tell them that we have a meeting of minds and an agreement." Abū Mūsā spoke and said, "I and 'Amr have agreed on something by which we hope God will bring about peace to this community." 'Amr said, "You have spoken the truth and kept your word, Abū Mūsā, go ahead and speak."

Abū Mūsā went forward to speak, but Ibn 'Abbās said to him: "Woe to you, by God, I suspect that he has tricked you. If you have both agreed on something, let him go first and speak about that thing before you, and then you speak after him. 'Amr is a treacherous man and I am not sure that he has given you satisfaction when it was just the two of you, but, when you stand among the people he will oppose you." But Abū Mūsā was heedless and said, "We have agreed."

Abū Mūsā went forward, praised God and extolled Him, and then said, "People, we have considered the affairs of this community and [3359] we do not think that there is anything that will be more beneficial for it or more conducive to resolving its difficulties than that upon which I and 'Amr have agreed. That is, that we should depose 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah and that this community should confront the issue and appoint over themselves from among themselves whomever it is that they want. I have accepted the deposition of 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, and now you confront the issue and give power over you to whomever you think is fitting for this matter."

He then stood aside and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ took his place. He praised God and extolled Him, then said, "This fellow has spoken as you have heard and declared the deposition of the one whom he represents. Similarly, I declare that he is deposed and I confirm my support for my candidate Mu'āwiyah. He is the next-of-kin of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and the one who seeks vengeance for his blood. Of all the people, he has most right to take his place."

Abū Mūsā said, "What are you doing, may God foil you? You have acted treacherously and unrighteously. You 'are like the dog which,

if you attack it, it lolls out its tongue, or, if you leave it alone, it still lolls out its tongue.' "[441] 'Amr responded, "And you 'are like the monkey which carries writings.' "[442] Shurayḥ b. Hāni' attacked 'Amr, lashing at his head with a whip, and a son of 'Amr assailed Shurayḥ, striking him with a whip. Everyone got up and separated the two of them, and subsequently Shurayḥ used to say, "There is nothing I regret more than my striking at 'Amr with a whip. If only I had struck at him with a sword and let fate bring him what it would!" The Syrians sought Abū Mūsā, but he mounted his camel and retired to Mecca.

Ibn 'Abbās said, "God damn the decision (*ra'y*) of Abū Mūsā! I warned him and told him to be circumspect, but he took no heed." And Abū Mūsā used to say, "Ibn 'Abbās warned me of the treachery of the evildoer (*fāsiq*), but I trusted him and did not imagine that he would put anything above sincere advice to this community."

Then 'Amr and the Syrians went back to Mu'āwiyah and greeted him as caliph, while Ibn 'Abbās and Shurayḥ b. Hāni' went to 'Alī. Whenever he was making the early morning prayers, 'Alī would stand in supplication[443] and say, "Oh God, put a curse on Mu'āwiyah, 'Amr, Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, Ḥabīb [b. Maslamah], 'Abd al-
[3360] Raḥmān b. Khālid, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, and al-Walīd [b. 'Uqbah]." Mu'āwiyah heard about that, and when he himself made supplication, he cursed 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās, al-Ashtar, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn.

Al-Wāqidī claims that the meeting of the two arbitrators was in the month of Sha'bān in the year 38 of the Hijrah (January 659).

The Actions of the Khawārij at the Time of 'Alī's Sending Abū Mūsā to the Arbitration, and the Battle at the Canal[444]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mughaffal[445]—'Awn b. Abī Juḥayfah: When 'Alī was about to send Abū Mūsā to the arbitration

441. Qur'ān 7:177.

442. Qur'ān 62:5.

443. *Yaqnutu*; the *qunūt* are supplications made in standing position at the end of the *ṣalāt*.

444. *Yawm al-nahr*; this refers to the canal of Nahrawān (see later). On the following, see Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions*, 27–29.

445. The name is doubtful.

(*ḥukūmah*) two men (from the Khawārij), Zur'ah b. al-Burj al-Ṭā'ī and Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr al-Sa'dī,[446] came to him. They went in to where he was and said to him, "Authority (*ḥukm*) belongs to God alone."[447] 'Alī responded, "Authority belongs to God alone."

Ḥurqūṣ said to him, "Repent of your sin (*khaṭī'ah*), retract your decision, and come out with us against our enemies whom we will fight until we meet our Lord." 'Alī answered them, "That is what I wanted you to do, but you disobeyed me and now we have a written agreement with them and stipulated conditions, and we have made them promises and given them our word regarding it. God has said, [3361]
'Observe God's covenant when you have entered into it and do not break your oaths after you have pledged them, for now you have made God your guarantor. God knows what you do.' "[448] Ḥurqūṣ said to him, "That is a sin (*dhanb*) from which you must repent," but 'Alī answered, "It is no sin but only a failure of judgment (*ra'y*) and weakness of action. I enjoined you concerning it and told you not to do it."

Zur'ah b. al-Burj said to him, "'Alī, unless you stop giving men authority over the Book of God, I will fight against you, seeking thereby the face of God and His favor." 'Alī answered, "May woe befall you! How abject is your state! I seem to see you slain with the wind blowing on you."[449] Zur'ah said, "That is what I would like." 'Alī said, "If you followed the truth there would be consolation for (the loss of) this world in dying while supporting the truth, but Satan has seduced you. Fear God. There is no good for you in this world over which you fight."

The two of them left him, proclaiming the slogan "Authority belongs to God alone" (*yuḥakkimān*).

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah al-Ḥanafī: One day 'Alī went out to deliver an address. In the course of it those who objected to his giving men authority in God's affairs proclaimed their slogan, "Authority belongs to God alone"[450] from

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446. This seems to be the only appearence of Zur'ah; the more prominent Ḥurqūṣ belonged to the Banū Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm.

447. See Qur'ān 6:57; 12:40, 67. This is the famous slogan (*lā ḥukma illā lillāh*) of the Khawārij, known as the *taḥkīm*. See Hawting, "The Significance of the Slogan."

448. Qur'ān 16:91.

449. That is, lying dead and unburied after battle.

450. *Ḥakkamat al-muḥakkimah.*

all sides of the mosque. 'Alī responded, "God is most great! Their words are are true, but they use them to mean something false! If they are silent, we will embrace them (in our community); if they insist on arguing, we will argue against them; but if they rebel against us, we will fight them." Yazīd b. 'Āṣim al-Muḥāribī[451] leaped up and said, "Praise be to God! Our Lord is not to be set aside nor dispensed with. Oh God, I take refuge with you from perpetrating shameful behavior in our religion. That would be falling short in the affairs of God and a baseness that subjects those who do it to
[3362] God's wrath. 'Alī, do you threaten us with killing? By God, I hope that we will strike you with the swords after a little while, with their edges, not their flats. Then you will know to which of us hell's burning is most due."[452] Then he and three of his brothers (he was the fourth) "went out" with the Khawārij and were killed with them at the canal (*al-nahr*)—one of them was killed later at al-Nukhaylah.[453]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ajlaḥ b. 'Abdallāh—Salamah b. Kuhayl—Kathīr b. Bahz al-Ḥaḍramī: 'Alī stood among the men to deliver an address one day and someone said from the side of the mosque, "Authority belongs to God alone." Another arose and proclaimed similarly, and then a number, one after the other, proclaimed the slogan (*taḥkīm*). 'Alī said, "God is most great! Their words are true but something false is meant by them. Three things do we grant you. So long as you remain with us, we will not deny to you the mosques of God that you may mention His name in them; we will not deny to you the spoils (*fay'*) so long as your hands are joined with ours; and we will not fight against you unless you make the first move against us." Then he returned to the place where he had been in his address.

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451. Apparently Ṭabarī's only reference to this man who was presumably of the Banū Muḥārib b. Khaṣafah/Qays.

452. See Qur'ān 19:70.

453. There is much confusion in the sources about the battle(s) of the Khawārij at al-Nukhaylah. Al-Mubarrad, 576 ff., has two: one in which they fought against 'Alī and another in which they fought against Mu'āwiyah after he had taken possession of Iraq following the death of 'Alī. The latter matches the battle reported by Ṭabarī, II, 10. Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions*, 35, n. 7, seems to argue that there was only one such battle—that against Mu'āwiyah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—anonymous—al-Qāsim b. al-Walīd: Ḥakīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd al-Bakkāʾī[454] shared the views of the Khawārij. One day he came to ʿAlī while he was delivering an address and said, "It has been revealed to you and to those who were before you that if you ascribe partners to God your deeds will be of no avail and you will be one of those who are lost."[455] ʿAlī responded, "Bear patiently, for the promise of God is truth, and do not let those who have no certainty despise you."[456]

According to Abū Kurayb[457]—Ibn Idrīs—Ismāʿīl b. Samīʿ al-Ḥanafī—Abū Razīn: When the appointment of the arbitrators had been made (*lammā waqaʿa al-taḥkīm*)[458] and ʿAlī returned from Ṣiffīn, (the Khawārij) came back in a state of separation from him. When they reached the canal[459] they stopped there, while ʿAlī entered al-Kūfah with the men. The Khawārij camped at Ḥarūrāʾ[460] and ʿAlī sent [3363] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās to them. But he came back without achieving anything, so ʿAlī himself went to them and debated with them until both sides were satisfied and the Khawārij entered al-Kūfah. Then someone came to ʿAlī and said, "It is being said that you gave in to their demand that you renege on your unbelief (*kufr*)." So ʿAlī delivered an address during the midday prayer. He referred to the position of the Khawārij and criticized it, and they leaped up on all sides of the mosque proclaiming, "Authority belongs to God alone." One of them stood facing him with his fingers in his ears and said, "It has been revealed to you and to those who were before you that if you ascribe partners to God your deeds shall be of no avail and you will be one of those who are lost."[461] ʿAlī replied, "Bear

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454. Again, this is the only appearance in Ṭabarī's work of this man: the Banū al-Bakkāʾ were part of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah/Qays; for his son, see later, p. 117 and n. 485, below.

455. Qurʾān 39:65.

456. Qurʾān 30:60.

457. For Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ, d. 247/861, see *GAS*, I, index, s.v., with reference to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*.

458. Possibly, "when the protest against the appointment of arbitrators had been made."

459. This canal is not Nahrawān, which is not en route from Ṣiffīn to al-Kūfah; it must refer to one of the canals in the vicinity of al-Kūfah.

460. Ḥarūrāʾ (see n. 365, above) seems to have stood by a water course in the early Islamic period although later references speak of it as being in the desert (see *EI²*, s.v.).

461. Qurʾān 39:65.

patiently, for the promise of God is truth, and do not let those who have no certainty despise you."[462]

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Idrīs—Layth b. Abī Sulaym—his companions: 'Alī began to wring his hands (the narrator said: with his hands like that) while on the dais (*minbar*). He said, "God's decision (*ḥukm*) is looked for among you twice.[463] We grant you three things. We will not prevent your prayer in this mosque; we will not prevent your partaking of these spoils so long as your hands are joined with ours; and we will not fight you unless you fight against us."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah: When 'Alī had sent Abū Mūsā to effect the arbitration, some of the Khawārij met together and gathered in the dwelling of 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī.[464] He praised God and extolled Him, and then said, "By God, it is not fitting that a people that believes in God the Merciful and turns in repentance to the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Qur'ān should prefer this world to the commanding of good, the forbidding of evil, and the proclaiming of the truth. Pleasure
[3364] in this world, confidence in it, and love for it, is an occasion of distress and destruction. If someone is wearied and injured, then he who is wearied and injured in this world,[465] has his reward on the day of Resurrection in God's good favor and perpetual abode in His gardens.[466] So let us go out, brethren of ours, from this settlement whose poeple are wicked[467] to one of the dictricts of the mountains[468] or to one of those towns,[469] rejecting these innovations (*bida'*) that lead astray."

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462. Qur'ān 30:60.

463. Presumably this refers to the change of mind of the Khawārij—first they had insisted on stopping the fighting against Mu'āwiyah, and now they insisted on starting it again.

464. See *EI²*, s.v., for this pietist of the Banū Rāsib of Azd.

465. *Wa-in munna wa-ḍurra fa-innahu man yumannu wa-yuḍarru*.... The reading of the text is unsure. It is unpointed and apparently meaningless (see editorial note c in Leiden text). The *man* has been conjecturally supplied by the editor. Ibn al-Athīr, III, 281, merely paraphrases the passage.

466. From this point as far as "And he wrote to the Khawārij at the canal" p. 119, below, there is a gap in the manuscripts, supplied by reference to Ibn al-Athīr, III, 281, 1.3–283, bottom. See the editorial note d in the Leiden text.

467. See Qur'ān 4:75.

468. Or, "a district in (the region of) al-Jibāl"?

469. Perhaps, "to one of the settlements that formed part of al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon)."

Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr said to him, "The delights of this world are few and separation from it is imminent. Do not let its fineries and delights tempt you to stay in it or turn you from seeking what is true and rejecting evil. 'God is with those who fear, and they are those who do good.'"[470] Ḥamzah b. Sinān al-Asadī[471] said: "Oh people, you are right. Grant authority over your affairs to a man [3365] from among you, for you cannot do without a support and a prop and a banner around which you can gather and to which you can return." They offered the position to Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭā'ī, but he refused, and to Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr, who also refused. Ḥamzah b. Sinān and Shurayḥ b. Awfā al-'Absī[472] both refused, too. When they offered it to 'Abdallāh b. Wahb, he said, "Give it to us! By God, I do not accept it out of a desire for this world and I will not abandon it out of fear of death." They gave him the oath of allegiance when ten days had passed of Shawwāl, and he was called Dhū al-Thafināt.[473]

Then they gathered in the dwelling of Shurayḥ b. Awfā al-'Absī, and Ibn Wahb said, "Let us go to a land where we shall gather to effect the authority (*ḥukm*) of God, for you are the people of the truth." Shurayḥ said, "Let us leave for al-Madā'in. There we shall dismount, seize its gates, expel its inhabitants, and send for our brethren among the people of al-Baṣrah that they might come to us." Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn said, "If you depart together, you will be followed, but go out one by one in secret. As for al-Madā'in, there are those there who will resist you; do not stop there but go on until you reach Jisr al-Nahrawān[474] and there write to your brethren among the people of al-Baṣrah." They said, "That is right!" and 'Abdallāh b. Wahb wrote to those of them who were in al-Baṣrah, telling them what they had agreed on and urging them to join them. The letter was conveyed to them and they answered it, saying that they would join him.

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470. Qur'ān 16:128.

471. Of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah of Khindif.

472. Sometimes referred to as Shurayḥ b. Abī Awfā, he was of the Banū 'Abs of Ghaṭafān/Qays (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Šuraiḥ).

473. That is, "he with the scars" on his forehead or knees as a result of his constant prostration in prayer (cf. Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions*, 27; and *EI*², s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb).

474. This was the town (Nahrawān Bridge) on the canal of Nahrawān, northeast of al-Madā'in.

When they had decided to depart, they passed the night—that
[3366] was the night before Friday—and the day of Friday worshiping God. On Saturday they set out. Shurayḥ b. Awfā al-ʿAbsī left, reciting God's words, "And he (Moses) departed from it in fear, looking about him. He said, 'Oh my Lord, deliver me from the evil people,' and when he was journeying toward Midian, he said 'Perhaps my Lord will guide me on an even path.'"[475]

Ṭarafah b. ʿAdī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī[476] went out with them. His father ʿAdī went after him but could not catch up with him; when he got as far as al-Madāʾin he turned back. When he had reached Sābāṭ,[477] however, ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī came upon him with about twenty horsemen. ʿAbdallāh wanted to kill him, but ʿAmr b. Mālik al-Nabhānī and Bishr b. Zayd al-Bawlānī[478] prevented him. ʿAdī then sent to Saʿd b. Masʿūd,[479] ʿAlī's prefect over al-Madāʾin, warning him about what the Khawārij were doing, and Saʿd was thus on his guard. He secured the gates of al-Madāʾin and went out with a body of horsemen, leaving behind his nephew, al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd, in command of the town. Saʿd then went in pursuit of the Khawārij.

ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb was informed of this and he took care (to avoid) Saʿd's route, going by way of Baghdādh.[480] At al-Karkh[481] Saʿd b. Masʿūd caught up with them with 500 horsemen at evening time. ʿAbdallāh turned to attack Saʿd's force with thirty mounted men. They fought for a while, but most refrained from joining in. Saʿd's men said to him, "Why are you fighting against these men when you have received no order concerning them? Let them go on their way and write to the Commander of the Faithful. If he tells you to follow them, do so, but if someone other than you takes care of them for you that will be all the better for you." Saʿd rejected
[3367] that but when night had fallen, ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb went and crossed

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475. Qurʾān 28:21–23.
476. For the father, ʿAdī, see p. 27, above.
477. A suburb of al-Madāʾin on the Tigris (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 34–35).
478. Nabhān and Bawlān are both clans of Ṭayyiʾ, ʿAdī's tribe.
479. For Saʿd and his nephew, see n. 29, above.
480. This was the Persian name of the village on the site of which the town of Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdād) was later to be built.
481. Al-Karkh, southwest of Baghdādh toward al-Kūfah, was later incorporated as a suburb of Baghdād.

the Tigris to the district of Jūkhā,[482] where he headed for al-Nahrawān[483] and joined up with his companions. They had despaired of him and had said, "If he has perished we will put Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn or Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr in charge of our affairs."

A group of Kūfans set out wishing to join the Khawārij, but their own families forced them to return under duress. Among them were al-Qa'qā' b. Qays al-Ṭā'ī, the paternal uncle of al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm,[484] and 'Abdallāh b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bakkā'ī.[485] 'Alī had heard that Sālim b. Rabī'ah al-'Absī[486] wanted to go out to join them, so he summoned him and forbade him, and he desisted.

When the Khawārij had left al-Kūfah, the companions and supporters (*shī'ah*) of 'Alī came to him and gave him the oath of allegiance. They said, "We are the friends of those whom you befriend and enemies of those to whom you show enmity." (In accepting their oaths) 'Alī undertook (to adhere to) the example (*sunnah*) of the Messenger of God. Rabī'ah b. Abī Shaddād al-Khath'amī[487] came to him (he had been present with 'Alī at the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn and had borne the banner of Khath'am), and 'Alī said to him, "Give me the oath of allegiance on (condition that I observe) the Book of God and the example of His Messenger." Rabī'ah said, "(And that you observe) the example of Abū Bakr and 'Umar!" 'Alī said to him, "Woe to you! If Abū Bakr and 'Umar had not acted according to the Book of God and the example of His Messenger they would not have had any legitimacy (*lam yakūnā 'alā shay' min al-ḥaqq*)." So Rabī'ah gave him the oath of allegiance, and 'Alī looked at him and said, "By God, it is as if I see you now having departed with these Khawārij and been killed. It is as if I see you, the horses having trampled on you with their

482. The district east of the Tigris, usually regarded as south of al-Madā'in although here it presumably refers to the lands north of that town also (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 42).

483. Probably indicating the aforementioned Jisr Nahrawān (see n. 474, above).

484. Al-Ṭirimmāḥ is a well known Khārijī poet of the Banū Ṭayyi' of the Umayyad period (see *EI*¹, s.v.).

485. Son of the aforementioned Ḥakīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bakkā'ī (p. 113 and n. 454, above).

486. For his participation in the movement of the Khawārij after 'Alī's death, see Ṭabarī, II, 17f.

487. This seems to be his only appearance in Ṭabarī's work.

hoofs." And he was killed on the day of the Canal with the Khawārij of al-Baṣrah.

The Khawārij of al-Baṣrah gathered together in a party of 500 and appointed Mis'ar b. Fadakī al-Tamīmī over them. When Ibn 'Abbās learned of that, he sent Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī[488] to follow them. He caught up with them at the great bridge, and they confronted one another until nightfall separated them, and Mis'ar and his men
[3368] set off again. He began attacking people indiscriminately,[489] with al-Ashras b. 'Awf al-Shaybānī[490] over his advance guard, and he continued until he met up with 'Abdallāh b. Wahb at the canal.

When the Khawārij had "gone out," Abū Mūsā had fled to Mecca, and 'Alī had sent Ibn 'Abbās back to al-Baṣrah, 'Alī gave an address in al-Kūfah and said:

> Praise be to God, even though destiny brings oppressive circumstances and momentous events. I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His Messenger. Now, disobedience bequeaths distress and leads to remorse. I have given you my orders regarding these two men and this arbitration, and I have freely shared my views with you even though my authority is little. But you have insisted upon what you wanted. I and you are as the brother of Hawāzin[491] says:
>
> I have given them my command at the curving of the sand hill,
> but they only saw the right path on the morning of the next day.
>
> Those two men whom you have sent out as arbitrators have cast the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Qur'ān behind their

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488. On this poet and alleged founder of the science of Arabic grammar, see *EI*², s.v.; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ẓalīm b. 'Amr. The vocalization Du'alī seems to be more correct than the Leiden edition's Du'ilī, although his tribe was the Banū Du'il b. Bakr of Kinānah.

489. *Ya'tariḍu al-nās.* This could be a technical term referring to the Khārijite practice of *isti'rāḍ* (q.v. in *EI*²), the subjection of individuals to an inquisition and their execution if they failed to answer correctly (for examples, see pp. 123–25, 176, below). But it may be that the term is used here in a less technical sense.

490. This appears to be Ṭabarī's only reference to this man of Bakr b. Wā'il.

491. That is, Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah (see n. 372, above); for the verses see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitab al-aghānī*, IX, 5, lines 15–20.

backs. They have revived what the Qur'ān has suppressed, and each of them has followed his own inclinations without any guidance from God. They have passed judgment (*ḥakamā*) without any clear proof or accepted precedent (*sunnah māḍiyah*). They have differed in their judgment (*ḥukm*), and neither of them has been rightly guided. God and His Messenger and the righteous of the Believers are quit of those two! Prepare and get ready to set out for Syria. Be in your army camp, God willing, on Monday morning. Then he stepped down.

And he wrote to the Khawārij at the canal:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'Alī, Commander of the Faithful, to Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn and 'Abdallāh b. Wahb and those who are with them: Now these two men whose authority [3369] (*ḥukm*) we accepted have opposed the Book of God and followed their own inclinations without any guidance from God. They have not acted according to the precedent (*sunnah*) nor effected a judgment (*ḥukm*) according to the Qur'ān. God and His Messenger and the Believers are quit of the two of them. When you receive this letter of mine, come, for we are setting out against our enemy and your enemy and we are still concerned with the matter that occupied us originally. Farewell!

The Khawārij wrote to 'Alī: "You were never zealous on account of your Lord, only on account of yourself. If you recognize your own unbelief and turn to repentance, we will consider that which divides us from you. Otherwise we have separated from you 'without distinction, for God does not like those who are faithless.' "[492] When 'Alī read their letter, he despaired of ever convincing them and decided that he should leave them alone and go with the men against the Syrians in order to meet and fight them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mu'allā b. Kulayb al-Hamdānī—Jabr b. Nawf Abū al-Waddāk al-Hamdānī: When 'Alī, having stopped

492. Qur'ān 8:58.

at al-Nukhaylah, had given up hope of winning back the Khawārij, he arose, praised God and extolled Him, and then said,

> Whoever abandons the *jihād* that is waged for God and falls short in His affairs is on the brink of his own destruction, unless God extends a blessing to him.[493] Fear God and fight against those who oppose Him[494] and who try to extinguish His light.[495] Fight against those who are in error and go astray, the unrighteous and the evildoers, those who are not "readers" of the Qur'ān (*qurrā' al-Qur'ān*), experts in religion (*fuqahā' fī al-dīn*), or learned in exegesis (*'ulamā' fī al-ta'wīl*), those who have no right to be concerned with this matter by reason of any precedence in accepting Islam.
> [3370] By God, if they were to have charge over you, they would treat you like Chosroes and Heraclius.[496] Make ready and prepare to set out against your enemies among the people of the west.[497] We have sent to our brethren of al-Baṣrah, asking that they come to you. When they do and you have united your forces, we will depart, God willing, and there is no power or strength but with Him.

'Alī sent 'Utbah b. al-Akhnas b. Qays of the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr[498] with a letter to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās. It read, "We have gone out to our army camp at al-Nukhaylah and agreed to set out against our enemies among the people of the west. Set out with your men, and, when my messenger comes to you, wait until you receive further orders. Salutations."

When the letter reached Ibn 'Abbās, he read it aloud to the men and commanded them to set out with al-Aḥnaf b. Qays. Of them, 1,500 left with him, but 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās considered that too

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493. See Qur'ān 68:49.
494. See Qur'ān 58:22.
495. See Qur'ān 9:32, 61:8.
496. The names (of Sasanid and Byzantine rulers) symbolized worldly kingship and tyranny in contrast to the righteous caliph.
497. The characterization of the Syrians as westerners and their opponents (first 'Alī and later the Zubayrids) as easterners is common in non-Muslim sources, rarer in Muslim ones.
498. Of Hawāzin/Qays, he was subsequently (51/671) implicated in the revolt of Ḥujr b. 'Adī (n. 71, above) but released by Mu'āwiyah (see Ṭabarī, II, 136ff.).

few and he therefore arose among the people, praised God and extolled Him, and then said,

> Men of Baṣrah, there has come to me the order of the Commander of the Faithful telling me to send you out. I have ordered you to go out to join him with al-Aḥnaf b. Qays but only 1,500 of you have done so and yet you number 60,000, without taking account of your sons, slaves, and clients (*mawālī*). Now go out with Jāriyah b. Qudāmah al-Sa'dī[499] and do not let any man give me grounds for taking action against him, for I shall punish anyone who absents himself from his post[500] in disobedience to his imam. I have ordered Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī to muster you, and anyone who gives grounds for action to be taken against him has only himself to blame.

Jāriyah went out and established a camp and Abū al-Aswad went there and mustered the men. Seventeen hundred men joined Jāriyah. [3371]
He then proceeded until 'Alī met him at al-Nukhaylah, where he had remained until those two armies from al-Baṣrah, 3,200 men, should come to him. He assembled the leaders of the Kūfans, the leaders of the "sevenths,"[501] the leaders of the tribes (*qabā'il*), and the prominent men. He praised God and extolled Him and then said, "Men of al-Kūfah, you are my brethren, my supporters (*anṣār*), my helpers in establishing what is right, and my companions in making *jihād* against my enemies, the profaners of God's law (*al-muḥillīn*). With you I will smite the backslider (*mudbir*) and hope for perfect obedience from him who goes ahead (*muqbil*). I have sent to the Baṣrans and asked them to come to join you, but only 3,200 of them have come to me. Help me with a counsel that is clear and devoid of all deception for you [. . .][502] our going out to Ṣiffīn. Rather, gather all together. I ask that the head of each tribe (*qawm*) write down for me what fighting men he has in his kinship

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499. Of Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt/Tamīm; for his mission against Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī in al-Baṣrah, see pp. 169–70, below (see *EI*², s.v. Djāriya b. Ḳudāma; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ǧāriya).
500. *Maktab* (see *Gloss.*, s.v.).
501. For the seven groupings into which the tribes in al-Kūfah were organized, see Djaït, "Les Yamanites," 154.
502. There is a lacuna in the text.

group (*'ashīrah*), together with their sons who have reached fighting age, and the slaves and clients of his kinship group, and then present that to us."

Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī stood and said, "Commander of the Faithful, we hear and obey, we offer love and counsel. I shall be the first to bring what you ask for and seek." Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī stood and spoke similarly, and 'Adī b. Ḥātim, Ziyād b. Khaṣafah, Ḥujr b. 'Adī, and the notables of the men and the tribes did the same. Then the chiefs wrote down the names of those under them and presented them to 'Alī, and they ordered their sons, their slaves, and their clients to go out with them and that none of them should lag behind. They presented to 'Alī 40,000 fighting men, plus 17,000
[3372] of their sons who had reached the right age, and 8,000 clients and slaves. They said, "Commander of the Faithful, as for those fighting men with us and their sons who have reached puberty and can fight, we have put before you those who are strong and resolute and we have ordered them to depart with us. But there are also nonfighting men (*ḍu'afā'*) among them, and they are involved in crafts and doing things that will be of benefit for us."

There were 57,000 Arabs from al-Kūfah and 8,000 of their clients and slaves (*mamālīk*): altogether 65,000 from al-Kūfah. In addition there were 3,200 Baṣrans, so that the number of those with 'Alī came to 68,200.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī: 'Alī wrote to Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, his prefect over al-Madā'in, as follows. "I have sent Ziyād b. Khaṣafah to you. Dispatch with him those of the fighting men of al-Kūfah whom you have with you, and make haste, God willing, and there is no power except with Him."

'Alī heard that the men were saying among themselves, "If only he would go with us against these Ḥarūriyyah, and we dealt with them first and then, having finished with them, we turned our attention to the profaners of God's law (*al-muḥillīn*)."[503] So 'Alī addressed them, and after praising God and extolling Him, said, "I have heard what you have been saying: 'If only the Commander of the Faithful would go with us against this group of Khārijites that has rebelled against him, and we dealt with them first and then, having finished with them, we turned to the profaners of God's law.'

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503. That is, the Syrians.

But others are more important for us than these Khārijites. Stop talking about them and march instead against a people who are fighting you so that they may be tyrants and kings and take the servants of God as chattel." And the men shouted from every side, "Commander of the Faithful, lead us wherever you wish!"

Ṣayfī b. Fasīl al-Shaybānī[504] stood to speak and said, "Commander of the Faithful, we are your party (*ḥizb*) and your supporters. We oppose those whom you oppose and join together with those who are obedient to you. Lead us against your enemies whoever they are, wherever they are. God willing, you will not lack followers great in number and firm in intention." Muḥriz b. Shihāb al-Tamīmī[505] of the Banū Sa'd also stood and said, "Commander of the Faithful, your party (*shī'ah*) is as one man in its agreement to unite together to support you and in its eagerness for *jihād* against your enemies. Rejoice at the help we give and lead us against whichever of the two bands you wish. We are your party that hopes for a fitting recompense in obeying you and making *jihād* against those who oppose you. And we fear the dire consequences that would follow from betraying and opposing you." [3373]

According to Ya'qūb[506]—Ismā'īl [b. 'Ulayyah]—Ayyūb [b. Abī Tamīmah al-Sakhtiyānī]—Ḥumayd b. Hilāl—a man of the Banū 'Abd al-Qays[507] who was one of the Khawārij but then separated from them: (The Khawārij) entered a village and 'Abdallāh, the son of Khabbāb the Companion of the Prophet,[508] came out in terror dragging his *ridā'*.[509] They asked him, "Why are you frightened?" and he answered, "By God, you have made me terrified." They asked, "Are you 'Abdallāh the son of Khabbāb the Companion of the Prophet?" and he answered, "Yes." They asked, "Did you hear from your father a report (*ḥadīth*) that he narrated from the Prophet, according to which the Prophet said, '(There will be) a *fitnah* in

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504. Later implicated with Ḥujr b. 'Adī and killed.

505. Also implicated with Ḥujr and killed (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

506. The Cairo edition identifies him as Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī, d. 252/866 (see *GAS*, I, 38, 285).

507. For 'Abd al-Qays/Rabī'ah, see *EI*², s.v.

508. Son of the Companion of the Prophet who is referred to previously (p. 96 and n. 383, above).

509. An outer garment that is wrapped around the body (see Dozy, *Dictionnaire... Vêtements*, s.v.).

which the sitting man is better than the standing, the standing better than the walking, and the walking than the running. And if you are alive then, servant of God, be the one who is slain'?" (Ayyūb said: I do not know any other version but that in which the Prophet said, "Do not be, servant of God, the one who is the slayer.")[510] Ibn Khabbāb answered them, "Yes." So they brought him to the canal bank, where they cut off his head and his blood flowed
[3374] like the lace of a sandal, and they pierced the womb of his concubine (*umm walad*) and emptied it of its contents.[511]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Aṭā' b. 'Ajlān—Ḥumayd b. Hilāl: The Khawārij who came from al-Baṣrah proceeded until they drew near their brethren on the canal. A band of them went out and came upon a man who was driving a donkey carrying a woman. They crossed to him, called to him, threatened and terrorized him, and said, "Who are you?" He replied, "I am 'Abdallāh, the son of Khabbāb the Companion of the Prophet." Then he grasped at his robe (*thawb*), lifting it from the ground where it had fallen when they were terrorizing him. They said, "Have we frightened you?" and he answered, "Yes." They said, "There is no need to be alarmed. Tell us a *ḥadīth* that your father heard from the Prophet. Perhaps God will give us some benefit by it." He said, "My father told me from the Prophet, 'There will be a *fitnah* in which the heart of a man will die as does his body. In the evening he will be a Believer and by the next morning an unbeliever, and in the morning he will be an unbeliever and by the next evening a Believer.' " They said, "This is the *ḥadīth* we have asked of you. And what do you say about Abū Bakr and 'Umar?" He heaped praise on them both. They asked, "What do you say about 'Uthmān in the first part of his caliphate and in the last part?" He said, "He was in the right in the first part and in the last part." They said, "And what do you say about 'Alī before the appointment of the arbitrators (*taḥkīm*)

510. For *ḥadīth*s of this type, see Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *fitnah*, V, 60, col. b; and for *ḥadīth*s with injunctions of the type "be 'Abdallāh the slain not 'Abdallāh the slayer," see ibid., s.v. *q-t-l*, V, 289, col. b.

511. Muslim law forbids the killing of the women and children of the enemy. But it is reported that some of the extreme Khārijites killed women and children as part of their practice of *isti'rāḍ*, taking the view that they shared in the sin and unbelief of their menfolk (see *EI*², s.vv. Azāriḳah, isti'rāḍ). Evidently this story is intended to illustrate that their doctrine even extended to an unborn child.

and afterward?" He answered, "He knows more of God than you do. He is more God-fearing in his religion (*dīn*), and more perceptive in his views." They said. "You follow your own inclinations and support men according to their names rather than their deeds. By God, we will inflict on you a death such as we have never inflicted on anybody."

They took him and bound him and then led him and his wife who was in the last stages of pregnancy beneath heavily laden palm trees. A date fell from them and one of them took it and put it in [3375]
his own mouth. Another said, "(You do that) without permission and without paying!" and he spat it out. Then he took his sword and began swinging it around.[512] A pig belonging to one of the "protected peoples" (*ahl al-dhimmah*)[513] passed by, and the Khārijī struck it with his sword. They said, "This is evil in the land,"[514] and the one who had struck it went to the owner of the pig and gave him satisfaction for it. When Ibn Khabbāb saw them doing that, he said, "If you are sincere in what I have seen, I need fear no evil from you. I am a Muslim who has not caused any wrong in Islam, and you have given me security when you said, 'There is no need to be alarmed.'" But they took him and made him lie down, and then slaughtered him so that his blood flowed into the water. Then they came to his wife, who said, "I am only a woman! Do you not fear God?" But they slit open her belly. And they killed three women of Ṭayyi', as well as Umm Sinān al-Ṣaydāwiyyah.[515]

When 'Alī and those of the Muslims heard about the way in which the Khawārij had killed 'Abdallāh b. Khabbāb and about the slaughter (*i'tirāḍ*) they were imposing, he sent al-Ḥārith b. Murrah al-'Abdī[516] to them, to go to them and enquire about what he had

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512. The text is unpointed here; I have followed the suggestion of *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §100, to read *yahuzzuhu* as in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*. Cairo has *yamīnahu/yamīnuhu/yumīnuhu*, which is closer to the ductus of the manuscript, but it is difficult to supply a meaning to fit the context.

513. That is, the non-Muslims who had accepted Arab rule and maintained their preconquest religious and communal allegiances in return for tax.

514. See Qur'ān 5:33, 5:64, 8:73, etc.

515. I have not been able to identify this Umm Sinān further.

516. Al-Dīnawarī, 207, has al-Faq'asī (Faq'as b. Ṭarīf of Asad) instead of al-'Abdī, and *Ann.*, in its necrology for 38 A.H., says that the Dīnawarī reading is certainly correct. On p. 171, presumably referring to the same individual, Dīnawarī has al-'Abdī. Lectio dificilior would favor al-Faq'asī. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only mention of him.

heard concerning them and to write back about it fully and without concealment. He left and when he had got as far as the canal, intending to question them, they came out against him and killed him. News of this reached the Commander of the Faithful ('Alī) and his followers, who came to him saying, "Commander of the Faithful, why are you letting them remain at our backs, to take our properties and our families from us?[517] Lead us against them and then, when we have settled the matter with them, we will go against our Syrian enemy."

Al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī came and spoke to him in the same way. There had been an impression that al-Ash'ath shared the views of the Khawārij because at Ṣiffīn he had been saying, "(The Syrians are) a people who have treated us fairly, appealing to the Book of
[3376] God." But (now), when he asked 'Alī to go against the Khawārij, it was realized that he did not share their point of view.

'Alī agreed that they should go against the Khawārij first, and announced the setting out, He left and crossed the bridge, and prayed two *rak'ahs* at al-Qanṭarah.[518] He stopped at Dayr 'Abd al-Raḥmān and then at Dayr Abī Mūsā, then took the route via Qaryat Shāhī, Dabāhā, and the bank of the Euphrates.[519] On the way he was met by an astrologer who advised him to travel only at a certain time of day. He said, "If you journey at another time, you and your companions will meet a dire evil." But 'Alī rejected that and (deliberately) traveled at the time when the astrologer had told him not to. When he had finished the battle at the canal, 'Alī praised God and extolled Him, and then said, "If we had journeyed at the time the astrologer said, the ignorant ones who have no knowledge would have said, 'He traveled at the time that the astrologer ordered and consequently has been victorious.' "

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—'Abdallāh b. 'Awf: When 'Alī wished to set out from al-Anbār[520] against the men of

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517. *Yakhlufūnanā fī amwālinā wa-'iyālinā*, indicating that the Khawārij would take over the properties of families of those Iraqīs killed in fighting the Syrians.

518. *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §100, has "sul ponte." But it perhaps refers to the place known as Qanṭarah al-Kūfah or al-Qanāṭir, about a day's journey north of al-Kūfah, where the road crossed the Badāt canal (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 74).

519. For Qaryat Shāhī and Dabāhā, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 246 and II, 545.

520. On the Euphrates due west of the town of al-Nahrawān (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II).

the canal, he sent Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah ahead and told him to go to al-Madā'in, where he should wait until further orders reached him. Then 'Alī came proceeding against the Khawārij, and Qays and Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī joined him at the canal. 'Alī sent to the men of the canal, saying, "Surrender to us those among you who killed our brethren so that we may kill them for what they have done. Then I will leave you alone and refrain from action against you so that I may meet the Syrians. And perhaps God will bring about a change of heart on your part and bring you back to a better situation than that in which you are." They sent back, saying, "All of us were their killers and all of us consider your and their blood to be licit."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd Abū al-Kunūd: Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah addressed the Khawārij, "Servants of God, send out to us those among you whom we seek and come back into this undertaking that you have deserted. Return with us to the fight against our enemy and your enemy. You have done a terrible thing, bearing witness against us that we have committed polytheism (*shirk*), 'and polytheism is a terrible evil,'[521] shedding the blood of the Muslims, and counting them as polytheists (*mushrikūn*)." 'Abdallāh b. Shajarah al-Sulamī[522] replied, "The truth has shone forth for us. We will not follow you unless you bring us someone like 'Umar." Qays said, "We do not see anyone of that description among us other than our lord ('Alī); do you see such among you?" And Qays said, "I implore you by God not to destroy yourselves, for I think *fitnah* has triumphed over you." [3377]

Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd al-Anṣārī[523] addressed them, saying, "Servants of God, you and we are again in exactly the same position as we were before (Ṣiffīn) and there is no division between us. Why are you fighting against us?" They said, "If we were to give you the oath of allegiance today, you would appoint arbitrators tomorrow." Abū Ayyūb replied, "I implore you by God not to rush into *fitnah* in this year out of fear of what may happen in the next."[524]

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521. See Qur'ān 31:13.

522. This speech and the subsequent reference to his death seem to represent the only appearance in Ṭabarī's work of this Qaysī.

523. For this famous Companion who is said to have died in the attack on Constantinople during Mu'āwiyah's caliphate, see *EI*², s.v. Abū Ayyūb.

524. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *qābil*.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan—Zayd b. Wahb: 'Alī came to the men of the canal, stood before them, and said, "You band, which a quarrelsome animosity and stubbornness have caused to rebel, which your own inclinations have turned away from the truth and rashness carried away, and which has fallen into confusion
[3378] and great misfortune! I warn you lest tomorrow this community find you laid low by the bends of this canal and the beds of this lowland without a clear proof from your Lord or a conclusive demonstration. Do you not know that I ordered you not to accept the arbitration process (*ḥukūmah*) and that I told you that the enemy's seeking it from you was (really) a ruse and a trick directed against you? And I informed you that they were not men of religion (*dīn*) or scripture (*qur'ān*); that I knew them better than you, for I knew them as children and as men and they are a people of cunning and treachery; and that if you rejected my opinion, you would be setting aside sound judgment. But you disobeyed me so that consequently I agreed to appoint an arbitrator. When I did so, I made conditions, extracted undertakings, and imposed on the two arbitrators that they give life to that which the Qur'ān effects and do away with what the Qur'ān suppresses. But they did differently and opposed the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Book and the authoritative precedent (*sunnah*). Therefore, we have rejected the whole procedure involving them and have gone back to our previous situation. What then is your position and what do you want?"

They replied, "We accepted the setting up of arbitration and when we did so we sinned and became unbelievers. But we have repented and, if you do the same, then we will be with you fully. If you refuse, however, then withdraw (*i'tazil*) from us, for we reject you 'without distinction for God does not love the treacherous.' "[525]

'Alī answered them, "May a whirlwind strike you and not one of you survive! After my believing in the Messenger of God, making *hijrah* with him, and *jihād* in the way of God, should I (now) testify to unbelief against myself? 'Then I would have gone astray and would not be of the rightly guided.' "[526] He then turned away from them.

525. Qur'ān 8:58.
526. Qur'ān 6:56.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Salamah al-Zuhrī, whose mother was the daughter of Anas b. Mālik:[527] 'Alī said to those who had gathered at the canal:

> You have let yourselves be enticed into the abandonment of this arbitration process that you yourselves initiated and asked for, while I abhorred it. I told you that the enemy [3379] had asked for your agreement to it as a trick and a ruse, but you rejected me like opponents and turned away from me like disobedient wretches until I changed my mind and gave in to you. By God you are a light-headed and simple-minded people. Unworthy to be called sons![528] I did not introduce anything illicit nor, by God, did I deprive you of anything that concerned you or conceal any of this matter from you. I did not make you do anything without proper consideration and did not seek after adversity for you, even though our cause is clearly that of the Muslims.[529] Your council (*mala'*)[530] agreed to choose two men, and we imposed on them that they should judge (*yaḥkumā*) according to what is in the Qur'ān and not disregard it. But they went astray and left the truth, even though they perceived it. Oppression was all their desire, even though we had entrusted to them to judge with justice, together with their opposing to the truth their evil views and their oppressive judgment.[531] We must trust ourselves now those two have deviated from the path of truth and done what is not acceptable. Make clear to us why you consider it lawful to fight against us and go out from our community. The people did not choose two men so that you should put your swords on your shoulders, slaughter (*isti'rāḍ*) people, cut off their

527. Abū Salamah al-Zuhrī was an elder relative of the famous Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, index, s.v. Abū Salama); for the famous Companion and transmitter Anas b. Mālik, see *EI*², s.v.

528. *Lā aba laka* does not have the same force in Arabic as "Bastard!" in English (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *abū*).

529. (?) *Wa-in kāna amrunā la-amra al-muslimīna ẓāhiran*; Cairo reads . . . *li-amri al-muslimīna*. . . . It is difficult to see what precisely it means.

530. Perhaps indicating a general opinion rather than any consultative institution.

531. Following the reading of *SNB* and Cairo: *wa-al-ṣaddu li al-ḥaqqi suw'a ra'yihimā wa-jawra ḥukmihimā*. Leiden has *bi-suw'i ra'yihimā wa-jawri ḥukmihimā*.

heads, and shed their blood. "Indeed that is clear depravity."[532] By God, if you killed even a chicken like that, its killing would be a weighty matter with God. How will it be, then, regarding a soul the killing of which God has prohibited?

But the Khawārij shouted out, "Do not address them or argue
[3380] with them. Prepare to meet the Lord; hasten, hasten to Paradise."

So 'Alī went and made ready the men. He gave Ḥujr b. 'Adī command of his right wing and Shabath b. Rib'ī or Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī command of his left. He put Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī over the cavalry and Abū Qatādah al-Anṣārī[533] over the infantry and placed Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah over the men of al-Madīnah, of whom there were 700 or 800.

The Khawārij made ready, too, and gave command of their right wing to Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭā'ī, of their left to Shurayḥ b. Awfā al-'Absī, of their cavalry to Ḥamzah b. Sinān al-Asadī, and of their infantry to Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr al-Sa'dī.

'Alī sent al-Aswad b. Yazīd al-Murādī[534] with 2,000 horsemen against Ḥamzah b. Sinān, who led 300 of the cavalry of the Khawārij, and hoisted a flag of safe conduct alongside Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. This last called out to the Khawārij, "Whoever of you who has not committed murder or slaughter (*isti'rāḍ*) and comes to this flag, he has safe-conduct; and whoever of you goes back to al-Kūfah or al-Madā'in and abandons this party, he has safe-conduct. We will have no need to shed your blood after we have slain those among you who have murdered our brethren." Farwah b. Nawfal al-Ashja'ī said, "By God, I know of no reason why we should fight against 'Alī; I think that I must retire until it becomes clear to me whether to fight against him or to follow him." So he withdrew with 500 horsemen and waited at al-Bandanījayn and al-Daskarah.[535] Another group also separated and went to al-Kūfah. And about 100 of them
[3381] went over to 'Alī. The Khawārij numbered (originally) 4,000 and

532. Qur'ān 22:11, 39:15.

533. A Companion who is reported to have led the expedition to Baṭn Iḍam (8/629) and fought at Ḥunayn (8/630), and who is the source of various reports about the Prophet.

534. See Ibn al-Kablī, II, index, s.v. al-Aswad b. Yazīd b. al-Ǧābir.

535. For these two places northeast of Nahrawān (Yāqūt calls the former a *baldah* and the latter a *qaryah*), see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 80 and map II.

there remained with 'Abdallāh b. Wahb 2,800. They marched against 'Alī, who sent forward his cavalry in front of the footsoldiers, and arranged his men in two lines behind the horsemen, placing the bowmen in front of the first line.

'Alī said to his men, "Hold back from them until they attack you. If they launch an attack against you—and the majority of them are on foot—they are bound to be tired when they get to you while you will be repulsing them and defending against them." The Khawārij advanced, and when they were close they called out to Yazīd b. Qays. (Yazīd b. Qays was governor of Iṣbahān.)[536] They said, "Yazīd b. Qays, authority belongs to God alone, even though Iṣbahān denies it." 'Abbās b. Sharīk and Qabīṣah b. Ḍubay'ah, both of them 'Absīs,[537] called out to the Khawārij, "Enemies of God, is not Shurayḥ b. Awfā, who has wasted his own soul, among you, and are you not all like him?"[538] They said, "And what is your argument against a man who suffered temptation and found in us his repentance?" Then they called out, "Hasten, hasten to Paradise!" and launched an attack.

'Alī's horsemen were in front of his infantry, but the horsemen of the Muslims[539] did not hold firm against the attack and split into two groups, one on the right, the other on the left, and the Khawārij advanced on the infantry. 'Alī's bowmen confronted them with their arrows, while the horsemen from both the right and the left turned on them, and the footmen rushed at them with spears and swords. By God, they wasted no time in killing the Khawārij.[540] Then Ḥamzah b. Sinān, the leader of the cavalry of the Khawārij, when he saw the destruction, called to his men, "Dismount," and they went to do so but had not taken up positions before al-Aswad b. Qays al-Murādī attacked them and horsemen came at them from the direction of 'Alī. They were slain in a short time.

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536. See n. 92 and p. 102, above.

537. For these two supporters of 'Alī (the latter was implicated with Ḥujr b. 'Adī), see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.vv.

538. For Shurayḥ, also an 'Absī, see n. 472, above. Dīnawarī, 210, refers to him as one of the ascetics (*nussāk*) of the Khawārij. Ṭabarī's report here indicates that he had defected to the Khawārij after first supporting the decision to go to arbitration. For his death, see p. 132, below.

539. That is, 'Alī's horsemen.

540. See *Gloss.* for this meaning of *anāma*.

[3382] According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Muslim b. Salām b. Thumāmah al-Ḥanafī—Ḥakīm b. Sa'd:[541] As soon as the Baṣran Khawārij met us we did not delay in fighting them.[542] It was as if they had been ordered to die, and they did so before their strength became effective and could cause significant damage.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb: Abū Ayyūb came to 'Alī and said, "Commander of the Faithful, I have killed Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn." 'Alī asked, "What did you say to him and what did he say to you?" He replied, "I stabbed him with a spear in his chest so hard it came out of his back, and I said to him, 'Rejoice, enemy of God, that you are going to Hell,' and he answered me, 'You will find out which of us is "more fitting to burn in it."'"[543] 'Alī said nothing. (But according to [another version of the report from] Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb: 'Alī said to Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, "He is more fitting to burn in it.")

And 'Ā'idh b. Ḥamalah al-Tamīmī[544] came and said, "Commander of the Faithful, I have killed Kilāb."[545] 'Alī replied, "You have done well. You are a supporter of the truth and you have killed an adherent of falsehood."

And Hāni' b. Khaṭṭāb al-Arḥabī[546] and Ziyād b. Khaṣafah came quarreling with one another about who had killed 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī. 'Alī said to them, "How did you do it?" and they answered, "Commander of the Faithful, when we saw him we recognized him, and we vied with one another to attack him and stabbed him with our spears." 'Alī said, "Do not argue with one another—both of you killed him."

Jaysh b. Rabī'ah Abū al-Mu'tamir al-Kinānī[547] attacked Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr and killed him, and 'Abdallāh b. Zaḥr al-Khawlānī[548]

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541. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, lists a Ḥakīm b. Sa'd of the Banū al-Bakkā'/'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. According to Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 264: "the *dār* of Ibn Ḥakīm in al-Kūfah was ascribed to (*mansūbah ilā*) Ḥakīm b. Sa'd b. Thawr b. Mu'āwiyah b. 'Ubādah b. al-Bakkā', who was a *sayyid*."

542. For *mā huwa illā an. . .fa-. . .*, see *Gloss.*, s.v. *illā*.

543. Qur'ān 19:70.

544. Involved in the rising of Ḥujr b. 'Adī (see Ṭabarī, II, 120, for his verses about an injury received at that time).

545. I am unable to identify.

546. See n. 254, above.

547. This seems to be his only appearance in Ṭabarī's history.

548. Another only appearance.

attacked 'Abdallāh b. Shajarah al-Sulamī and killed him. Shurayḥ b. Awfā came to a wall and fought for a long time of the day by a gap in it. He had killed three men of Banū Hamdān, and he began to extemporize, saying:

An 'Absī handmaiden knows,
gentle and sheltered among her people, [3383]
that I will defend my gap tonight.

Qays b. Mu'āwiyah al-Duhnī[549] attacked him and cut off his foot, but he moved to fight them, saying: "The stallion camel, though hobbled, defends its pregnant females." Then Qays b. Mu'āwiyah attacked and killed him, and the people said:

One day Hamdān and a man fought together.
They fought from dawn until just before evening,
and God gave Hamdān success over the man.

Shurayḥ said:

I will strike them and, were I to see Abū al-Ḥasan ('Alī),
I would strike him with the sword until he becomes still.

And he said:

I will strike them and, if I should see 'Alī,
I would envelop him with a white gleaming *mashrafī* sword.[550]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah: 'Alī went out seeking Dhū al-Thudayyah.[551] With him were Sulaymān b. Thumāmah al-Ḥanafī Abū al-Jabrah, and al-Rayyān b. Ṣabrah b. Hawdhah.[552] The latter found him in a hollow on the bank of the canal among forty or fifty slain men.

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549. Another only appearance.

550. For variant explanations of the epithet *mashrafī*, of frequent occurrence in conjunction with *sayf*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

551. That is, "he with the woman's breast"; see Wellhausen, *Religio-political Factions*, 24, n. 6, for discussion. The point of the following story becomes clearer on p. 139, below: There was a *ḥadīth*, known to 'Alī, associating "a people who would pass through Islam as an arrow through game" with a man with a deformed arm, and 'Alī was looking for this man to confirm that the men he had fought at the canal were indeed those referred to in the *ḥadīth*. The *ḥadīth* is generally understood as referring to the Khawārij.

552. Both of the Banū Ḥanīfah/Bakr b. Wā'il; for the latter, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. al-Raiyān b. Ṣabira.

When he was dragged out, al-Rayyān examined the upper part of his arm and saw some flesh attached to the shoulder, looking like a woman's breast with a nipple bearing some black hairs. When it was stretched out it extended until it was equal to his other arm, and when it was let go it retracted to his shoulder like the breast
[3384] of a woman.

When Dhū al-Thudayyah was dragged out, 'Alī said, "God is most great! By God, I did not lie and was not deceived. Indeed by God, were it not that you would refrain from good deeds, I would tell you what God decreed through the mouth of His Prophet for him who fights against them while conscious of his motive for fighting them and recognizing the right to which we adhere." Then he passed among the fallen Khawārij and said, "Woe unto you! He who has deluded you has done you harm." His own men asked, "Commander of the Faithful, who is it who has deluded them?" He replied, "Satan and their own selves inciting to evil[553] deluded them with their desires, made disobedience seem attractive to them, and told them that they would be victorious."[554]

A search was made for any among them who still had a spark of life, and we found 400 of them. 'Alī commanded that they be given back to their kin, to whom he said, "Take them away with you and restore them to health. When they are better, take them to al-Kūfah and take possession of anything in their camp."

As for weapons, mounts, and the matériel of war,[555] 'Alī divided them among the Muslims. Regarding goods and male and female slaves, he returned them to their owners when he came (to Kūfah). 'Adī b. Ḥātim sought his son Ṭarafah.[556] Having found him, he buried him and then said, "Praise be to God, who put me to the test, by your death in this battle, in spite of my yearning for you."[557] Some of our men buried the slain men of their own tribe, but when the Commander of the Faithful heard about that he said, "Leave them! Do you kill them and then bury them?" And the men departed.

553. See Qur'ān 12:53.
554. *Ann.*, 38 A.H., §107, reads *ṭāhirūna*, "pure."
555. (?) *Wa-mā shahidū bihi 'alayhi al-ḥarb.*
556. See p. 116, above.
557. (?) *Alladhī ibtalānī bi-yawmika 'alā ḥājatī ilayka.*

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mujāhid—al-Muḥill b. Khalīfah [al-Ṭā'ī]: One of the Banū Sadūs, called al-'Ayzār b. al-Akhnas,[558] who shared the views of the Khawārij, went out to join them. Beyond al-Madā'in he met 'Adī b. Ḥātim, with whom were al-Aswad b. Qays and al-Aswad b. Yazīd, both of the Banū Murād.[559] When he met him, al-'Ayzār said to him, "Are you secure from sin and gainful of recompense or evil and sinful?" 'Adī replied, "Indeed, secure from sin and gainful of recompense." The two Murādīs said [3385] to him, "You have only said that because of an evil in your heart, for we know that you, 'Ayzār, share the views of those people (the Khawārij). You will not leave us before we bring you to the Commander of the Faithful and tell him about you." It was not long before 'Alī arrived and the two of them told him about al-'Ayzār, saying, "Commander of the Faithful, he shares the views of the enemy—we have recognized that in him." 'Alī said, "Shedding his blood is not licit for us, but we will imprison him." 'Adī b. Ḥātim said, "Commander of the Faithful, give him to me and I will take responsibility that nothing untoward happens to you on his part." So 'Alī gave al-'Ayzār to 'Adī.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Imrān b. Ḥudayr—Abū Mijlaz—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab b. 'Abdallāh: Only seven of 'Alī's companions were killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah al-Yanā'ī—Abū Dardā': When 'Alī had finished with the people of Nahrawān, he praised God and extolled Him and then said (to his own men), "God has favored you and reinforced your victory, so direct yourselves immediately against your enemy."[560] They answered, "Commander of the Faithful, our arrows are exhausted, our swords have become blunt, the tips of our spears have fallen off, and most of them have been broken in pieces. Go back to our garrison town and let us make the best possible preparation. Perhaps the Commander of the Faithful will add to our equipment that of those of us who have died,

558. This seems to be his only appearance. *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §108, says that we should read Sinbis rather than Sadūs (the Banū Sinbis of Ṭayyi' fits better with the subsequent tribal affiliations). Balādhurī *Ansāb*, cited in *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §120, has al-Akhnas b. al-'Ayzar al-Ṭā'ī al-Sinbisī.

559. See nn. 307, 534, above.

560. That is, the Syrians.

for that will make us better fitted to confront the enemy." Their spokesman in putting that forward was al-Ash'ath b. Qays.

'Alī went and stopped at al-Nukhaylah, where he told the men to remain in their camp and prepare themselves for *jihād*, and to cut down on visiting their wives and children until they set out against their enemy. They remained there for some days, but then they slipped away from their camp and entered (the town), apart
[3386] from a few of their leaders, and the camp was left empty. When 'Alī saw that, he entered al-Kūfah and his idea of departing to fight Mu'āwiyah was shattered.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—anonymous—Zayd b. Wahb: In his first address to the men after the fighting at the canal, 'Alī said, "Men, get ready to go out against an enemy, in the making of *jihād* against whom there is drawing near to God and obtaining a way of getting close to Him. They are confused regarding what is right, they shun the Book, and they deviate from the religion (*dīn*), wandering perplexedly in rebellion[561] and cast down in the flood of error. Get ready against them all the force that you can muster and all the horses you can bridle. Put your trust in God, for He is a sufficient protector[562] and He is a sufficient helper."[563]

But they neither went to do what he said nor prepared themselves. He left them alone for a few days until, despairing of their doing what he had asked, he summoned their chiefs and leaders and asked them their opinion and what was delaying them. Some among them offered excuses and some evinced an antagonism to his wishes; those who showed enthusiasm were in the minority. So 'Alī stood to address them in a *khuṭbah*.[564]

He said:

> Servants of God, what possessed you, when I commanded you to go to fight, that you were averse to war and inclined to the earth?[565] Do you desire the life of this world

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561. See Qur'ān 2:15; 6:110.
562. See Qur'ān 4:81; 33:3, 48.
563. See Qur'ān 4:45.
564. A formal address delivered from the dais (*minbar*) in the mosque. It became a formal part of the midday prayer service on Friday, but in early Islam was not limited to liturgical contexts. See *EI*², s.v.
565. *Iththāqaltum ilā al-arḍ*; i.e., "you were slow and sluggish" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, *th-q-l*, form VI.

> more than the next[566] and lowliness and degradation to glory? Each time I have urged you to the *jihād*, your eyes have rolled as if you are in the agonies of death, as if you are mad and without reason, and as if your eyes are blind and you cannot see. I am amazed at you.[567] You are only lions of al-Sharā[568] in time of peace and sly foxes when you are called to be brave. You will never be men on whom I can rely, you are not riders with whom one can attack, and [3387]
> you are not men of strength to whom one may cling. By the eternal God, you are wretched men of valor[569]—you are duped and you do not outwit: your lands are diminished[570] and you do not care; others are not taken off guard by you,[571] but you are heedless and negligent. The true warrior is he who is alert and has understanding, while he who seeks for agreements comes to abasement. He who engages in dispute overcomes, but those who are defeated are vanquished and despoiled.

Then he said, "Now, you have obligations toward me and I have obligations toward you. My duties toward you are good counsel to you so long as I am associated with you, increasing your spoils (*fay'*), providing you with knowledge so that you are not ignorant, and educating you so that you acquire knowledge. Your duties to me are fulfillment of the oath of allegiance, good advice in private and in public, responding when I call you, and obedience when I command you. If God intends a good outcome for you, draw back from what I dislike, return to what I desire, and you will obtain what you seek and achieve what you hope for."

Narrators other than Abū Mikhnaf say that the battle between 'Alī and the people of the canal was in year 38 (658–659). That is

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566. See Qur'ān 9:38.

567. *Li Allāhi antum!* An expression usually indicating appreciation of some good quality, perhaps used here ironically.

568. A proverbial expression for fierceness or bravery, said to refer to a mountain abounding in lions (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

569. *Ḥushshāsh al-ḥarb.* Literally, "kindlers of war" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *miḥashsh*).

570. (?)*Wa-yatanaqqaṣu aṭrāfukum. Ann.*, A.H. 38 §111, has "vi si rattrappiscono le mani e i piedi." *Nanquṣu min aṭrāfihā* is Quranic (13:41, 21:45) and is variously understood.

571. (?)*Lā yunāmu 'ankum.*

what most of the specialists in historical traditions (*ahl al-siyar*) say, and it is supported, too, by what ʿUmārah al-Asadī told me—ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā—Nuʿaym—Abū Maryam:[572] Shabath b. Ribʿī and Ibn al-Kawwāʾ went out from al-Kūfah to Ḥarūrāʾ, and ʿAlī ordered the men to appear with their weapons. They all went out to the mosque, which became full with them, but ʿAlī sent to them,
[3388] saying, "What you have done in entering the mosque with weapons is wrong. Go to the Jabbānah of Murād[573] and await my orders."

So we went to the the Jabbānah of Murād and waited there for part of the day. Then we heard that the Khawārij were returning, marching back.

I said, "I will go out to see them." So I went and infiltrated their columns until I came to Shabath b. Ribʿī and Ibn al-Kawwāʾ, who were resting on one thigh in the saddles[574] of their mounts. With them were ʿAlī's messengers, who were imploring the two of them by God to return with the men,[575] and saying to the men, "We beseech you by God not to hasten the *fitnah* this year out of fear of next year."

A man (of the Khawārij) came up to one of the messengers of ʿAlī and hamstrung his mount. The messenger then dismounted, uttering the *istirjāʿ*,[576] picked up his saddle, and went on with it. The Khawārij were saying, "All we want is to resume open hostilities with them (the Syrians)," and the messengers were imploring them by God. We waited for a time and then they went back to al-Kūfah, where it was as if it were a day of breaking the fast or a day of sacrifice.[577]

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572. Abū Maryam al-Thaqafī is cited at Ṭabarī, I, 3154, as being in al-Kūfah when al-Ashtar seized it for ʿAlī and expelled Abū Mūsā, before the Battle of the Camel; Ṭabarī reports from him via al-Minqarī. The present instance seems to be Ṭabarī's only citation from ʿUmārah al-Asadī. The *ahl al-siyar* would seem to be scholars specializing in reports about the military events of early Islam; for a discussion of the development of the term *siyar* and related fields of tradition, see Hinds, "Maghāzī and Sīra," esp. pp. 61–62 and n. 8.

573. A *jabbānah* is a cemetery. In al-Kūfah the *jabbānahs* seem to fulfill the role of public squares in each tribal quarter (see *EI*², s.v. al-Kūfa, p. 347a).

574. (?)*Wāqifān mutawarrikān*; the significance of the description escapes me.

575. For this sense of *lammā* (= *illā*) after a verb of swearing or imploring, see Wright, *Grammar*, II, 340, at top.

576. See n. 331, above.

577. Because of the commotion. (The "breaking of the fast [of Ramaḍān]" and the "day of sacrifice" [during the *ḥajj*] are the two major feasts of the Muslim year.)

'Alī had been narrating to us before that that a people would go out from (*yakhrujūna min*) Islam, passing through the religion as the arrow passes through the hunted game.[578] The sign of them would be a man with a deformed arm (*mukhdaj al-yad*). I heard that *ḥadīth* from him several times.

Nāfi'[579] the Deformed (al-Mukhdaj) also heard it, and I saw him going off his food because he had heard him saying it so often. Nāfi' was with us in the mosque, praying by day and spending his nights there too. I had given him a *burnus* to wear, and I met him subsequently and asked him if he had gone out with those who had gone to Ḥarūrā'. He replied, "I went out intending to join them, but when I came to the Banū Sa'd some youth met me and divested me of my weapons and made fun of me, so I went back.[580]

About a year later, the men of the canal "went out" and 'Alī went against them. I did not go with him, but my brother Abū 'Abdallāh did and he told me: 'Alī went to them, and when he was opposite them on the bank of the Nahrawān, he sent imploring them by God and asking them to return. A succession of messengers went ceaselessly from him to them until they killed a messenger of his. When he saw that, he attacked them and fought them until he had finished with them. Then he asked his companions to seek for the Deformed One (al-Mukhdaj), and they did so. Some of them said, "We cannot find him" and some said, "No, he is not among them." Then a man came and announced good news to 'Alī and said, "Commander of the Faithful, we have found him beneath two slain men in an irrigation ditch." 'Alī said, "Cut off the arm that is deformed and bring it to me." When he was brought it, he took it and lifted it up and said, "By God, I did not lie and was not deceived."[581] [3389]

578. See n. 551. For the *ḥadīth*, see Wensick, *Concordance*, s.vv. *maraqa* and *akhdaja*, and idem, *Muslim Creed*, 38. *Maraqa*, "to pass through," is used of an arrow that goes clean through the animal at which it is shot.

579. Apparently *not* a reference to the famous Khārijī Nāfi' b. al-Azraq.

580. The wearing of the *burnus*, most likely here a hooded cloak, is probably meant to be indicative of an ascetic. Al-Dīnawarī, 203, has *aṣḥāb al-barānis* with reference to supporters of the Khārijites. The continuation of the narrative in the first person makes it difficult to be sure where the words of Nāfi' end, but the following sentence surely cannot be his and must belong to the narrator Abū Maryam.

581. This story relates to that of Dhū al-Thudayyah earlier.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) said: Abū Maryam has indicated with his words, ". . . so I went back. About a year later, the men of the canal 'went out,' " that the war between 'Alī and the men of Ḥarūrā' was in the year after that in which they had rejected 'Alī's agreement to arbitration. This latter occurred in 37, as has been established previously, and, if that was the case, and the matter developed according to the report that we have transmitted from Abū Maryam, then it is sure that the battle between 'Alī and them was in 38.[582]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—'Abdallāh b. Maymūn—'Amr b. Shujayrah—Jābir—al-Sha'bī: After he had returned from Ṣiffīn, 'Alī sent Ja'dah b. Hubayrah al-Makhzūmī, whose mother was Umm Hāni' bint Abī Ṭālib, to Khurāsān. He
[3390] got as far as Abrashahr, the people of which had espoused unbelief and refused to yield. He therefore went back to 'Alī, who sent out Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbū'ī, who besieged the people of Naysābūr until they made peace with him, and so too the people of Marw.[583]

In this year, that is, 37 (657–658), 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās led the pilgrimage.[584] He was 'Alī's governor over the Yemen and its provinces (*makhālīf*). Qutham b. al-'Abbās was over Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, and Sahl b. Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī over al-Madīnah. It is also said that Tammām b. al-'Abbās[585] was over al-Madīnah. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās was over al-Baṣrah, with Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī over its judicial affairs. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr[586] was over Egypt and Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbū'ī over Khurāsān. And it is said that when 'Alī departed for Ṣiffīn, he left behind Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī[587] as his deputy over al-Kūfah. According to Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī[588]—'Abdallāh b. Idrīs—Layth—'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rufay': When 'Alī went out to Ṣiffīn, he left behind as his deputy over al-Kūfah Abū Mas'ūd

582. For discussion of the chronology and the cause and effect relationship between the meeting of the arbitrators, the defection of the Khawārij, the Battle at the Canal (Nahrawān), and the rebellion of al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid (see later), see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 88–90.

583. Apart from the addition of the information about Ja'dah's mother, this passage is identical to that on pp. 99, above.

584. 'Ubaydallāh was a full younger brother of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās (n. 3, above).

585. Tammām was a half-brother of 'Abdallāh and 'Ubaydallāh, known for his great strength (Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 27).

586. Son of the first caliph (see *EI*², s.v.).

587. See n. 269, above.

588. D. 246/860, brother of the previously cited Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm (n. 506, above; see *GAS*, I, 112).

al-Anṣārī 'Uqbah b. 'Amr. As for Syria, that was the territory of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān.

The Events of the Year 38

(June 9, 658–May 28, 659)

The Killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr in Egypt

Among the events of this year was the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr in Egypt, where he was governor. We have already reported the circumstances of 'Alī's appointing him there and the deposition of Qays b. Sa'd. Now we will recount why and where he was killed and how things turned out regarding him. We will begin with the conclusion of the report of al-Zuhrī, the beginning of which we have given previously.[589]

[3391] According to 'Abdallāh [b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī]—Yūnus [b. Yazīd]—al-Zuhrī:[590] When Qays b. Sa'd was told that Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was coming to replace him as governor, he went to meet him and spoke to him in private. He took Muḥammad into his confidence and said, "You have been sent by a man who lacks judg-

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589. See Ṭabarī, I, 3241–42, 3245–46. According to the account, 'Alī had been led to believe that Qays b. Sa'd (n. 75) was not entirely reliable as governor of Egypt and had sent Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr instead. Qays's father, Sa'd b. 'Ubādah, is said to have been a rival of Abū Bakr, the father of Muḥammad, at the time of the *saqīfah* following the death of the Prophet. On the following, see *EI*², s.v. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and the literature cited there.

590. The *isnād* is given in an abbreviated form (for the full version, see Ṭabarī, I, 3245).

ment (*ra'y*), but the fact that you are removing me from office will not stop me offering you sincere advice. I have some insight into your task here, for I was involved in something in which I was attempting to get the better of Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr and the people of Kharbitā.[591] You use the same stratagem against them for, if you try to get the better of them by any other means, you will perish." Qays described to him the stratagem whereby he was trying to get the better of them, but Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr suspected his motives and acted completely differently from the way Qays had said.

When Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had established himself and Qays b. Sa'd had left for Medina, Muḥammad sent the Egyptian army to Kharbitā, where they fought but were defeated. When Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr heard that, they came with the men of Syria, conquered Egypt, and killed Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. The land remained under Mu'āwiyah's control henceforth until he secured victory (in the struggle with 'Alī).

Qays b. Sa'd reached Medina, but Marwān and al-Aswad b. Abī al-Bakhtarī[592] threatened him until eventually, fearing that he would be seized or killed, he mounted up and went to join 'Alī. Mu'āwiyah wrote to Marwān and al-Aswad, expressing his anger at them and saying, "You have reinforced 'Alī with Qays b. Sa'd, and his sound opinion and his shrewdness. By God, if you had sent him 100,000 fighting men, that would not have angered me more than your forcing Qays b. Sa'd to leave to join 'Alī."

Qays b. Sa'd came to 'Alī and when he had told him what had happened and news reached them of the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, 'Alī realized that Qays b. Sa'd was equally the object of [3392]
some substantial trickery and that those who had advised him to remove Qays from office had not given him sincere advice.

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591. Kharbitā, in the delta near Alexandria (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 416), was the center of a group of 'Uthmāniyyah, opponents of 'Alī, who were, nevertheless, willing to accept the authority of Qays on certain conditions. Qays, we are told, had been willing to negotiate with them in exchange for their agreement not to resist him, so that he could oppose the attempts of Mu'āwiyah to take over Egypt. See Ṭabarī, I, 3237–38, 3241.

592. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the senior Umayyad in Medina, and became caliph himself in 64/683–84 (see *EI*², s.v.); for al-Aswad b. Abī al-Bakhtarī of the Banū Asad of Quraysh, son of an opponent of the Prophet who is said to have been killed at Badr, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. al-Aswad b. al-'Āṣi.

As for Abū Mikhnaf's version of the start of the affair of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, his going to Egypt and his governorship over it, our report of it has been given earlier.[593] Now we will report the remainder of the account about Muḥammad according to Abū Mikhnaf from Yazīd b. Ẓabyān al-Hamdānī: When those at Kharbitā had killed Ibn Muḍāhim al-Kalbī,[594] whom Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had sent against them, Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī al-Sakūnī[595] went out and called for vengeance for the blood of 'Uthmān. Others responded to him and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was unable to maintain order in Egypt. 'Alī heard about the rising of the Egyptians against Muḥammad and about their determination (to overthrow) him, and he said, "Only one of two men is right for Egypt—the companion of ours whom we removed from it (meaning Qays b. Sa'd) or Mālik b. al-Ḥārith (meaning, al-Ashtar)."

When 'Alī returned from Ṣiffīn, he had sent al-Ashtar back to his command over the Jazīrah and had said to Qays b. Sa'd, "Stay with me in charge of my personal guards (*shuraṭ*) until we have finished this business of the arbitration (*ḥukūmah*), and then go to Ādharbayjān." So Qays remained with 'Alī over his personal guard and when the business of the arbitration was over, 'Alī wrote to Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar, who at that time was at Naṣībīn:[596] "Now, you are one of those whose help I need in making the religion (*dīn*) effective, by whom I restrain the arrogance of the sinner, and by whom I fortify the dangerous frontier district (*thaghr*). I have put Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr over Egypt, but the rebels (*khawārij*)[597]
[3393] there came out against him and he is a raw youth with no experience of war and untested. Come to me so that we can consider what is necessary regarding that, and leave behind over your province those of your men who are trustworthy and sincere advisors. Salutations."

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593. See Ṭabarī, I, 3243–48.

594. Ibid., I, 3248, l. 18.

595. One of the 'Uthmāniyyah (n. 591); see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥadīǧ.

596. That is, Nisibis in northern Mesopotamia.

597. *Khawārij*; the word seems to be used in the general sense of rebels or defectors. It does not imply that the followers of Ibn Ḥudayj shared the views of those who fought 'Alī at Nahrawān (in fact, their views about 'Uthmān were contradictory). Rather it indicates that the name al-Khawārij probably originally had the general connotation of separatists or rebels and only later became the standard name for the Khārijites, whose origins were traced back to their rejection of the *ḥukūmah*.

Mālik came to 'Alī and went in to him. 'Alī told him the news about the men of Egypt and gave him the reports about them, and he said, "You are the only man for it. Set out there, may God have mercy on you. If I do not tell you what to do about it, it is because I am content with your own judgment. Ask for God's help if anything worries you, and mix firmness with gentleness. Be mild so long as mildness is effective, but insist on firmness when you have to." So al-Ashtar left 'Alī, went to the place where he had left his things, and got ready to set out for Egypt.

Mu'āwiyah's spies came and informed him of 'Alī's appointment of al-Ashtar, and that weighed heavily on him for he coveted Egypt and knew that if al-Ashtar arrived there he would be a more difficult prospect than Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. He therefore sent to al-Jāyastār, one of those subject to the *kharāj* tax,[598] and told him that al-Ashtar had been appointed over Egypt. And he said to him, "If you take care of him for me, I will not take any *kharāj* from you as long as I live;[599] so do what you can to outwit him." Al-Jāyastār then went to al-Qulzum[600] and waited there. Al-Ashtar left Iraq for Egypt, and when he reached al-Qulzum al-Jāyastār met him and said, "Here is somewhere to stay and here is food and fodder. I am one of those subject to the *kharāj*." Al-Ashtar stayed there with him and the *dihqān* came with fodder and food. Then, when he had fed him, he brought him a honeyed drink into which he had mixed poison. He gave it to him to drink and when he had done so he died.

Mu'āwiyah proceeded to tell the Syrians, "'Alī has sent al-Ashtar [3394]
to Egypt—call on God that He will suffice you against him." So every day they implored God against al-Ashtar, and then he who had given him the drink came to Mu'āwiyah and told him of al-

598. Jāyastār may be a version of an administrative title in Byzantine Egypt that appears in the administrative papyri as the Arabic *jasṭāl*. "Quaestor," "logistarius," and "augustalis" have been suggested (see *EI*[1], s. v. Arabia, d. Arabic Writing [I, 383, col. b.]); Becker, Neue arabische Papyri," 255; and *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §219). "Subject to the *Kharāj*" (*rajul min ahli 'l-kharāj*) perhaps indicates that the man had responsibility for collecting the tax from a district and paying part of it over to the Arabs. The promise to be released from it for life would then be a substantial reward—what he collected would be entirely his own. Note the subsequent reference to him as a *dihqān* (n. 406, above).

599. Or, "as long as *you* live" (thus Cairo and Ibn al-Athīr).

600. Ancient Klysma, modern Suez at the head of the Red Sea; a canal ran from it to join up with the Nile in the region of modern Cairo (see *EI*[1], s.v. Ḳulzum).

Ashtar's death. Mu'āwiyah stood among the people and delivered a *khuṭbah*. He praised God and extolled Him and then said, "'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had two right hands; one of them was cut off on the day of Ṣiffīn (meaning 'Ammār b. Yāsir) and the other today (meaning al-Ashtar)."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj—a *mawlā* of al-Ashtar: When al-Ashtar died we found among his things the following letter of 'Alī to the people of Egypt:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'Alī, Commander of the Faithful, to the community of Muslims who are jealous for God when He is disobeyed in the land and tyranny pitches its tents over the pious and the immoral equally, so that no right is respected nor any evil abstained from. Greetings. Praise be to God—there is no other but He. Now, I have sent to you one of the servants of God who does not sleep on the days of fear and does not shrink from the enemies out of wariness against calamities, who is harder on the unbelievers than the burning of the fire. He is Mālik b. al-Ḥārith, the brother of Madhḥij. Hearken unto him and obey him, for he is one of the swords of God, which does not rebound when striking and the blade of which does not become dull. If he orders you to advance, advance, and if he orders you to retire, retire, for he advances and withdraws only on my orders. (By sending him to you) I have given you preference over myself on account of his sincere advice to you and his stubborn unyielding attitude to your enemy. May God preserve you with right guidance and confirm your conviction. Salutations.

[3395] When Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr heard that 'Alī had sent al-Ashtar, he was troubled. Then, at the time of al-Ashtar's death, 'Alī wrote to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr—that was when 'Alī learned of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr's displeasure at al-Ashtar's coming:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'Alī, Commander of the Faithful, to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, greetings. Now, I have learned that you are displeased at my sending al-Ashtar to your

province. But I did not do that because I found you tardy regarding the *jihād* nor in an attempt to increase your effort. If I had removed from your authority that which is under your hand, I would have appointed you over something that would have been less troublesome and more pleasing for you to exercise authority over. The man whom I had appointed over Egypt was a sincere adviser to us and resolute against our enemies. But he has completed his days and met his appointed fate, we being pleased with him. May God be pleased with him, may He increase his reward and may He make pleasant for him the place to which he has been removed. Be steadfast against your enemy and get ready for warfare. "Summon people to the path of your Lord with sagacity and goodly exhortation."[601] Multiply the mention of God's name, the asking of Him for help, and fear of Him, so that He may protect you against what troubles you and help you in that to which He has assigned you. May God help us and you in that which cannot be achieved without His mercy. Salutations.

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr wrote to 'Alī in reply:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, to the servant of God, 'Alī, Commander of the Faithful, from Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, greetings. Praise be to God—there is no other but He. The letter of the Commander of the Faithful has reached me, and I have understood it and am cognizant of its contents. There is none among the people who finds the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful more acceptable than I, no one who exerts himself more against the Commander of the Faithful's enemy or [3396] is more gracious to his friend. I went out and established the army camp and I granted security to the people except for those who raised war against us and manifested their opposition. I follow the commands of the Commander of the Faithful, I am mindful of them, I seek refuge in them, and I take my stand with them. And the help of God is sought in every circumstance. Salutations.

601. Qur'ān 16:125.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Jahḍam al-Azdī, one of the Syrians—'Abdallāh b. Ḥawālah al-Azdī: After the Syrians had returned from Ṣiffīn, they waited for the decision that the two arbitrators would reach. When the two of them left the arbitration disagreeing with one another, the Syrians gave the oath of allegiance as caliph to Mu'āwiyah, and his strength continued to increase, while the people of Iraq were in disagreement regarding 'Alī. Mu'āwiyah's only concern was Egypt, fearing its fighting men because of their proximity to him and the strength of their enmity to anyone who was of the opinions (*ra'y*) of 'Uthmān. Nevertheless, Mu'āwiyah knew that a group there had found the killing of 'Uthmān reprehensible and opposed 'Alī. Furthermore, he hoped that if he won control over Egypt he would also be victorious in the war against 'Alī on account of the huge sum that was raised from its *kharāj*.

Mu'āwiyah summoned those of Quraysh who were with him: 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah, Busr b. Abī Arṭāt,[602] al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd; and others (not of Quraysh): Abū al-A'war 'Amr b. Sufyān al-Sulamī, Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Hamdānī, and Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ al-Kindī. He said to them, "Do you know what it is I have summoned you to? I have summoned you to a matter of great importance in which I desire that God grants help." The group said, all of them or those of them that spoke, "God has never informed anyone about the unknown and He will not let us know what you wish."

'Amr b. al-Āṣ said, "By God, I think that it is the question of this
[3397] land great in *kharāj*, rich in equipment, and numerous in population that concerns you. And you have summoned us then to ask us about what we think regarding it. If you have summoned us for that and gathered us together on account of it, then be determined and go forward, for how excellent is the view that you have formed! In conquering it you and your followers will achieve honor, your enemy will be put down, and those who oppose you will be humiliated." Mu'āwiyah said to him in reply, "I know what it is that concerns you, Ibn al-'Āṣ!" He said that because 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had made an agreement with Mu'āwiyah, at the time when he had given Mu'āwiyah the oath of allegiance in the fight against 'Alī b.

602. See p. 206, below.

Abī Ṭālib, that Egypt would be his for the rest of his life. That was intended as an incentive for him.

Mu'āwiyah turned to those others present and said, "This one (meaning 'Amr) has thought about it and affirmed his suspicions." They said, "But we do not know!" Mu'āwiyah said, "Abū 'Abdallāh has got it right." 'Amr said, "I am Abū 'Abdallāh." Then he said, "The best supposition is that which resembles certainty."

Then Mu'āwiyah praised God and extolled Him and said:

> Now, you have seen what God has done for you in your fight against your enemy.[603] They came to you expecting that they would devastate your territory and destroy your land. They had no doubt but that you would be in their hands. "But God repelled them with their rage, and they obtained none of the good"[604] that they desired. We entrusted the decision (*ḥākamnāhum*) about them to God, and He decided for us against them (*ḥakama lanā 'alayhim*). Then He joined together our forces and settled our differences, while He cast them into enmity and division, bearing witness one against another of unbelief and shedding each other's blood. By God, I hope that this business will be concluded in our favor and I have conceived the idea that we should seek to deceive the Egyptians. What do you think of our opinion regarding that?[605]

'Amr replied, "I have informed you regarding that which you asked me about and I have advised you as you have heard." Mu'āwiyah said, "'Amr has made up his mind, but he was sharp and cutting and failed to explain (*yufassir*). How should I act?" 'Amr said to him, "I will advise you how you should act. I think you [3398]
should send a powerful army under the command of someone who is resolute and stern, someone on whom you rely and in whom you trust. He should go and enter Egypt, and those of its people who share our view will come to him and help him against our

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603. That is, 'Alī and the Iraqis.

604. See Qur'ān 33:25.

605. Comparison with parallel sources suggests that there is an omission in the text here: They answered, "We agree with 'Amr!" Mu'āwiyah said, "But what should I do?"

enemies who are there. And when your army and those members of your party (*shīʿah*) there have united against your opponents, I hope that God will help you with your victory and aid your triumph."

Muʿāwiyah said to him, "Do you have any ideas other than this regarding what might be done in our dispute with them?" He replied, "Not that I know of." But Muʿāwiyah said, "Indeed I do! I think we should write to those of our party (*shīʿah*) there, and to our enemy. I will tell those of our party to persevere in their cause, and I will promise them that we are coming to their aid. And we will call our enemies there to make peace with us and give them cause to hope for our gratitude at the same time as we make them afraid about fighting against us. If what they have to offer is agreeable to us without fighting, then that is what we wanted. If it is not, then we still have the option of war available. You, Ibn al-ʿĀṣ, are a man blessed with hastiness, while I am a man blessed with deliberateness." ʿAmr said, "Do according as God has shown you. By God, I think it inevitable that your dispute with them lead to a resumption of war."

Thereupon Muʿāwiyah wrote to Maslamah b. Mukhallad al-Anṣārī[606] and Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī, both of whom had opposed ʿAlī:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Now, God has commissioned the two of you for a matter of importance, by which He will make great your reward, elevate your name, and make you magnificent among the Muslims—your seeking vengeance for the blood of the caliph unjustly slain and your zeal for God when the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Book was abandoned. You have waged *jihād* against the people of injustice and enmity. Rejoice in the good pleasure of God, in the imminence of the victory of the friends of God, and in the benefits that
> [3399] will come to you in this world. And rejoice in our authority, until that which will please you is achieved by it, and we give you by it what you deserve in full measure according to your merits. "Be patient and vie in patience"[607] against

606. Like Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj, Maslamah was a leader of the ʿUthmāniyyah in Egypt (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).
607. Qurʾān 3:200.

> your enemies. Call the backslider (*mudbir*) to your right guidance and protection. The army (of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr) has been led astray against you and everything that you reject has been cleared away and everything that you long for has come to pass. Peace be upon you.

Mu'āwiyah wrote this letter and sent it with a client of his called Subay', who took it to Ibn Mukhallad and Ibn Ḥudayj in Egypt. There Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was governor, having declared war on the followers of Ibn Mukhallad and Ibn Ḥudayj, and not (yet) having suffered any loss on the day the attack was made against him.[608] Subay' handed over his letter to Maslamah b. Mukhallad and also the letter of Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj, but Maslamah said, "Take Mu'āwiyah's letter to him so that he can read it, and then bring it to me so that I can answer it from both of us." The messenger took his letter to Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj, who had him read it out loud to him. When he had finished reading it, Subay' said, "Maslamah b. Mukhallad told me that I should take the letter back to him after you had read it so that he could reply to Mu'āwiyah on behalf of both of you." Ibn Ḥudayj said, "Tell him that he should do that," and he gave the letter to the messenger, who returned to Ibn Mukhallad.

The latter then wrote on behalf of himself and Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj:

> This matter for which we have sacrificed ourselves and in which we have followed God's command is something in which we hope for the reward of our Lord, deliverance from those who oppose us, and the hastening of retribution on those who violated our imām and rushed with haste into *jihād* against us. We, in this quarter of the earth, have re-

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608. *Wa-qad nāṣaba hā'ulā'i al-ḥarba bihā wa-huwa ghayru mutakhawwan bihā yawma al-iqdāmi 'alayhi.* The sentence is problematic. In view of the preceding reference to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and the *wa*, *hā'ulā'i* is presumably the object, rather than subject, of *nāṣaba*, and refers to the followers of the two men to whom Mu'āwiyah sent the letter. The Leiden editor indicates that *mutakhawwan* is unvocalized and only the *nūn* is dotted. He suggests it be understood in the same sense as *mutanaqqaṣ* ("diminished," "impaired")—Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. form V of *kh-w-n*, has "to diminish," "to impair," synonomous with *tanaqqaṣa*. It might be more obvious to read as *mutakhawwin*, "suspecting treachery or trickery" (i.e., on the part of Mu'āwiyah)—Cairo leaves unvocalized.

[3400] jected those unjust ones who were here, and we have aroused those here who are equitable and just. You have referred to our sharing in your power and your worldly success but, by God, that is nothing to incite us nor is it anything we wish for. If God brings together for us that which we seek and gives us what we desire, then this world and the next belong to God, the Lord of the worlds, Who may cause them to coincide as one world of His creation, just as He has said in His Book (and His promise is never broken): "And God gave them the reward of this world and the fairest reward of the world to come, for God loves those who do good."[609] Hasten your cavalry and your footmen to us for our enemy is furious against us and we are few among them. And (yet) they have become frightened of us while we have become equal adversaries of them. If God gives us help from your part, God will grant you success, and there is no power or might other than with God. "And God is sufficient for us, an excellent guardian."[610] Peace be with you.

This letter reached Mu'āwiyah, who was in Palestine at the time, He summoned the group of men whom he had called in connection with the letter, and said, "What do you think?" They answered, "We think that you should send an army and with God's permission you will conquer it." Mu'āwiyah said, "Get ready to go there, Abū 'Abdallāh (meaning 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ)."

Mu'āwiyah sent 'Amr with 6,000 men, and he went to bid him goodbye. While he was doing so Mu'āwiyah said to him, "'Amr, I commend to you the fear of God and mildness, for that assures success; ease of pace and deliberateness, for hurrying comes from Satan; and I recommend that you receive kindly him who draws near and leave alone him who turns his back. If he agrees, then that is excellent, but if he refuses, then severity after leniency is more effective in argument and more likely to achieve a good result. Call the people to make peace and unite. When you have gained the victory, let your helpers (*anṣār*) be the most favored of all by you,
[3401] but do good to all the people."

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609. Qur'ān 3:148.
610. Qur'ān 3:173.

'Amr departed and journeyed to the nearest parts of the land of Egypt, where he pitched camp. The 'Uthmāniyyah gathered to him and he remained with them. He wrote to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr: "Withdraw from me and do not make me shed your blood, Ibn Abī Bakr, for I do not want to lay a finger on you. The people of this land have agreed on opposition to you and rejection of your rule; they have repented of following you and are forsaking you (*hum muslimūka*), for matters have come to a head.[611] 'Depart from it, for I am one of your sincere advisers.'[612] Salutations."

'Amr also sent to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr the letter that Mu'āwiyah had written to him:

> The outcome of injustice and evil is great harm. Whoever sheds prohibited blood does not escape retribution in this world or evil consequences in the next. We do not know of anyone who was more persistent in injustice against 'Uthmān, more shamefully wicked against him, or more fervent in opposing him, than you. You were among those who rushed against him in assault, and you were among those who shed his blood. Then you thought that I would overlook or forget you to the extent that you made yourself ruler (*amīr*) over the land in which you are a neighbor of mine, and the majority of the people of which are my supporters who share my views, heed what I say and call on me for help against you. I have sent against you a band of men that is enraged against you, seeks your blood to drink, and attempts to draw near to God by *jihād* against you. They have given God an undertaking that they will make an exemplary punishment[613] of you, and if it were not that they intend for your something more than merely killing you, I would not have warned you nor given you notice. I would have liked them to kill you for your evil, your breaking the bonds of relationship, and your enmity against 'Uthmān on the day when he was pierced by your arrow heads between the bone that protrudes behind the

611. Following the suggestion of *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §242, to read *wa-qad* for *law qad*. Literally the expression means "for the two rings of the camel-girth have met."

612. Qur'ān 28:20.

613. *La-yumaththilunna bika*.

> ear and his jugular vein. But it is abhorrent to me that I should make an exemplary punishment of a Qurashī, though God will never deliver you from retaliation wherever you are. Salutations.

[3402] Muḥammad folded up their two letters and sent them to ʿAlī, together with a covering letter of his own: "Ibn al-ʿĀṣ has descended on the nearest parts of the land of Egypt, and the men of the land, most of whom are of those who share their views, have gathered to him. He has come with a clamorous and destructive army and I have observed signs of cowardice among those who are with me. If you have any use for the land of Egypt, then send me support in men and money. Peace be upon you."

ʿAlī replied to him:

> I have received your letter in which you mention that Ibn al-ʿĀṣ has descended on the nearest parts of the land of Egypt with a clamorous and destructive army and that those there with a view like his have gone out to join him. But the going out to him of those who see things like him is better for you than that they should remain with you. And you have mentioned that you have observed faintness of heart in some of those who are with you. Do not lose heart but, if they are faint-hearted, fortify your habitation, gather your party (*shīʿah*) around you, and send Kinānah b. Bishr,[614] who is well known for sincere advice, bravery, and courage, to go against the enemy. I am sending men to you for any sort of task you may require,[615] so be patient in face of your enemy, proceed judiciously, fight them as you have purposed, and make *jihād* against them patiently, expecting your eternal reward. If your party is the smaller of the two, then God may strengthen the few and forsake the many. I have read the letter of the wicked one (*fājir*) son of the wicked one, Muʿāwiyah, and the wicked one son of the infidel, ʿAmr, the two of them united in love of deeds of disobedience (to God), plotting together and taking bribes

614. According to some accounts, this man of Banū Tujīb of Kindah had given the fatal blow to ʿUthmān (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Kināna b. Bišr).

615. Literally, "on the difficult and the docile" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ṣaʿb*).

regarding the arbitration,[616] both of them abhorred in this world. "They have enjoyed their share as those who were before them enjoyed their share."[617] Do not let their threats and menaces frighten you. If you have not responded to them, do so as they deserve. You will find the words you seek. Salutations.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Thābit al-Anṣārī—a shaykh of the people of al-Madīnah: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr wrote to Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān in reply to his letter: [3403]

I have received your letter in which you remind me of the matter of 'Uthmān, and I make no apology to you regarding that. You tell me to withdraw from you, as if you were a sincere adviser, and you try to frighten me with reference to an exemplary punishment (*al-muthlah*) as if you were sympathetic to me. I hope that fortune will raise me up again over you and that I will sweep you away in battle, but if you are given the victory and authority (*al-amr*) in this world is yours, then, by my life, how many an evildoer you will have helped and how many a Believer you will have killed and mutilated (*mathaltum*). But both you and they must appear before God, for all things return to Him, and "He is the most merciful of the merciful"[618] "and God's help is to be implored against what you describe."[619] Salutations.

And Muḥammad wrote to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ: "I have understood what you have said in your letter, Ibn al-'Āṣ. You have claimed that you abhor that you should lay a finger on me, but I bear witness that you are one of the false ones. You claim that you are a sincere adviser to me, but I swear that I regard you as unworthy of trust. You claim that the people of the land have rejected my views and my authority and have repented of following me: then they are

616. *Al-ḥukūmah.*
617. See Qur'ān 9:69.
618. Qur'ān 12:64, 12:92.
619. Qur'ān 12:18.

friends to you and to Satan the accursed.[620] But God, the Lord of the Worlds, is our sufficiency, and our reliance is on God the Lord of the great throne.[621] Salutations."

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ advanced, heading straight for Fusṭāṭ[622] and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr stood to address the men. He praised God and extolled Him, and he prayed for His Prophet. Then he said: "You who have accepted Islam and you who believe! Those who are profaning what is sacrosanct, reviving error, kindling the fire of *fitnah*, and winning power by tyranny, have erected enmity against you and come against you with armies. Servants of God! Whoever
[3404] desires Heaven and forgiveness, let him go out against this band and make *jihād* against them for God. Go against them, may God have mercy upon you, with Kinānah b. Bishr."

About 2,000 men put themselves forward to go with Kinānah, and Muḥammad went out with another 2,000 men. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ went to meet Kinānah, who was over the vanguard of Muḥammad, and he proceeded toward him. When he drew near to Kinānah, he dispatched the squadrons, one after another. Whenever one of the Syrian squadrons approached him, Kinānah would attack it with the men he had with him and assail it so as to force it to draw near again to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. He did that several times and 'Amr, seeing it, sent to Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Sakūnī, who came with a sizable force[623] and surrounded Kinānah and his men. Then the Syrians gathered against them on all sides and, when Kinānah b. Bishr perceived that, he dismounted together with his men, saying, "No soul may die except with the permission of God, according to the fixed time that is written; whoever desires the reward of this life, We shall give him of it, and whoever desires the reward of the next life, We shall give him of it, and We shall recompense those who are thankful."[624] And he fought the Syrians with his sword until he fell a martyr, may God have mercy upon him. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ advanced toward Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, whose men had deserted

620. The expression occurs frequently in the Qur'ān. For the epithet *al-rajīm* in the sense of "Accursed," see Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary*, s.v.

621. See Qur'ān 9:129.

622. The text has *miṣr*, which can indicate Egypt in general or Fusṭāṭ in particular.

623. *Fī mithli al-dahm* "made a surprise attack"?

624. Qur'ān 3:145.

him when they heard about the killing of Kinānah, so that he remained entirely alone.

When Muḥammad perceived that, he hurried off on foot along the road until he came to a ruined place close to it and sought shelter there. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ proceeded to occupy al-Fusṭāṭ,[625] while Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj went off in pursuit of Muḥammad. He came upon some local non-Arabs (*'ulūj*) on the highway and asked them, "Did anyone unknown to you pass by?" One of them replied, "No, by God, but I went in to this ruined place and I saw a man sitting [3405] in it." Ibn Ḥudayj said, "By the Lord of the Ka'bah, that is he," and they rushed forward and went in to him. They brought him out almost dead of thirst and took him off toward Fusṭāṭ of Egypt.[626]

Muḥammad's brother, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, who was part of the army of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, hurried to 'Amr and said, "Will you kill my brother in chains? Send to Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj and forbid him to do that." So 'Amr sent to him, telling him to bring Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr to him, but Mu'āwiyah said, "Really! You have killed Kinānah b. Bishr and I should let Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr go! What an idea! 'Are your infidels better than these? Or do you have an immunity (for them) in the scriptures (*zubur*)?' "[627]

Muḥammad said to them, "Give me some water to drink," but Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj answered him, "May God not give him anything to drink if he ever gives you a drop.[628] You prevented 'Uthmān from drinking water until you had killed him, while he was fasting and in a state of ritual purity (*iḥrām*), and God received him with 'choice sealed wine.'[629] By God I will kill you, Ibn Abī Bakr, and God will give you to drink 'boiling water and pus.' "[630]

Muḥammad said to him, "Son of a Jewish weaving woman! That is not up to you or him whom you mentioned. It is only up to God. He provides drink for His friends and causes His enemies to thirst—

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625. *Fusṭāṭ* basically means "tent" and that is how *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §243, understands it here: ('Amr) "era tornato alla sua tenda." The name of the garrison town may be associated with Latin *fossum* "ditch."

626. *Fusṭāṭ Miṣr*, which may indicate that the source distinguishes between *fusṭāṭ* in its general signification (see the previous note) and in its use as the name of the main Arab garrison town of Egypt.

627. Qur'ān 54:43.

628. The remark is presumably addressed to the man from whom Muḥammad requested water, and the following sentences to Muḥammad himself.

629. See Qur'ān 83:25.

630. See Qur'ān 38:57, 78:25.

you and your ilk and him who has responsibility for it. Indeed, by God, if my sword had been in my hand you would not have got the better of me like this." Mu'āwiyah said to him, "Do you know what I am going to do with you? I shall put you in the belly of a donkey and then burn it with you inside."

[3406] Muḥammad said, "If you do that to me, then how often has it been done to the friends of God! I hope that God will make for me of this fire with which you burn me 'a saving coldness'[631] just as He made it for His friend Abraham, and I hope that for you and your friends He makes it as He made it for Nimrod and his. May God burn you and him whom you mentioned previously[632] and your imam (he meant Mu'āwiyah) and this one (he indicated 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ) with a fire that will blaze over you. 'As often as (its fires) die down, God increases its blaze.' "[633]

Mu'āwiyah said to him, "I am only slaying you in retaliation for 'Uthmān." Muḥammad asked him, "What have you got to do with 'Uthmān? He acted unjustly and rejected the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Qur'an, and God has said, 'They who do not judge (*ḥ-k-m*) with what God has revealed, they are the iniquitous.'[634] We held that against him and killed him, but you give him merit for it, you and those who are like you. God has absolved us—God willing—from his sin (*dhanb*), but you share in his offense (*ithm*) and the enormity of his sin, and the one who uses you [i.e., Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān] is just the same."

Mu'āwiyah became angry, had him brought forward, and killed him. Then he cast him into the corpse of a donkey and set fire to it. When 'Ā'ishah[635] heard about that, she mourned for him greatly and made extra prayers for him at the end of the ritual prayers, appealing to God against Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr. She joined the household of Muḥammad (b. Abī Bakr) to hers, and al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr[636] became part of her household.

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631. Qur'ān 21:69.

632. Presumably 'Uthmān. Leiden has "I mentioned"; Cairo does not specify the person.

633. Qur'ān 17:97.

634. Qur'ān 5:47.

635. 'Ā'ishah, the widow of the Prophet, although an opponent of 'Alī, was a half-sister of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr.

636. Al-Qāsim became a leading religious scholar (*ḥumila 'anhu al-'ilm*) in Medina (see Zubayrī, *Kitab nasab Quraysh*, 279).

According to al-Wāqidī—Suwayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ went out with 4,000 men, including Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj and Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulamī, and they (he and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr) met at al-Musannāt,[637] where they fought a great battle. When Kinānah b. Bishr b. ʿAttāb al-Tujībī was killed and he could find no more men, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr fled and tried to hide with Jabalah b. Masrūq.[638] But Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj was led to him and [3407]
surrounded him, and Muḥammad then came out and fought until he was killed.

Al-Wāqidī said that [the battle at] al-Musannāt was in Ṣafar of 38 (July–August 658) and [the arbitration meeting at] Adhruḥ was in Shaʿbān (January 659) of the same year.

(The narrative of Abū Mikhnaf continues.) ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ wrote to Muʿāwiyah when he had killed Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and Kinānah b. Bishr: "We met Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and Kinānah b. Bishr and they had with them large bodies of the men of Egypt. We called them to the right path, the accepted precedent (*sunnah*), and the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Book, but they rejected the truth and persisted in error. We made *jihād* against them and called on God for help, and God struck them in front and behind and they fled from us. God killed Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Kinānah b. Bishr, and the leading men. 'Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds,'[639] and peace be upon you."

The Killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah

In this year Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah b. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd Shams was killed,[640] although the experts in historical tradition (*ahl al-siyar*) differ regarding the date of it.

Al-Wāqidī dated it to the year 36 (656–657) and said that the cause of it was as follows: Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr set out against Ibn Abī

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637. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 98, translates as "the dam"; Rhuvon Guest locates it on the map that accompanies his edition of al-Kindī's *Kitāb wulāt Miṣr* (*The Governors and Judges of Egypt*) as a little northeast of modern Cairo, but indicates that the position is doubtful.

638. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to him.

639. Qurʾān 1:1.

640. Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah (see *EI*², s. v.) had been sent to Egypt by ʿUthmān but had led and fomented the opposition there against the caliph, seizing Fusṭāṭ in the disturbances at the time of ʿUthmān's murder.

Ḥudhayfah in Egypt, which he had seized. They camped at 'Ayn Shams[641] and tried to enter (Fusṭāṭ), but they could not prevail against him. Then they tricked Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah into leaving for al-'Arīsh[642] with a thousand men, and he set out leaving al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt[643] behind as his deputy over Fusṭāṭ.[644] When Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah had departed for al-'Arīsh, he fortified himself, and 'Amr came and set up the siege weapons, forcing him to descend with thirty of his companions, all of whom were taken
[3408] and killed.[645] That was before 'Alī sent Qays b. Sa'd to Egypt.

Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, however, reported that Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah was taken only after the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and the entry of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ into Egypt and his seizure of it. Hishām asserted that when 'Amr and his men entered Egypt, they captured Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah and sent him to Mu'āwiyah, who was in Palestine. He incarcerated him in a prison of his, where he remained for a short time before escaping. He was a maternal cousin of Mu'āwiyah, but Mu'āwiyah let it be thought that he disapproved of his escape and he asked the Syrians for volunteers to track him down.

In reality, it is thought Mu'āwiyah had wanted Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah to escape, but a man of Khath'am called 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Ẓalām,[646] a brave man who was an 'Uthmānī, said that he would go in search of him. He went off immediately and came up with him at a place in the Balqā' in Ḥawrān.[647] Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah had gone into a cave there. Some donkeys, seeking to escape rain, went into it, but when they saw the man there they shied and bolted. Some people who were harvesting near the cave said, "By God, there

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641. Ancient Ōn/Heliopolis, northeast of modern Cairo (see *EI²*, s.v.).

642. Ancient Rhinokorura, an oasis on the Mediterranean marking the border between Palestine and Egypt but traditionally counted to the latter (see *EI²*, s.v.).

643. This is Ṭabarī's only reference to al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt (b. Makhramah al-Qurashī), who is to be distinguished from the later Thaqafī governor of al-Kūfah with the same name.

644. *Miṣr*.

645. The translation reflects the lack of clarity regarding the referents of the pronouns in the Arabic, but it must be Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah and his men at al-'Arīsh who were taken and killed. *Ann.*, 36 A.H., §399, argues that separate accounts of different expeditions of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ have here been conflated.

646. This is his only appearance in Ṭabarī's history.

647. The Balqā' is the region west of the Jordan to the south of Jerash (see *EI²*, s.v.). For the Ḥawrān, the mountainous region south of Damascus, see *EI²*, s.v.

is something behind the flight of these donkeys from the cave!" and they went to look and came upon him there. As they left the cave, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Ẓalām al-Khath'amī chanced upon them. He asked them about Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah and described him to them, and they said, "There he is in the cave." He went and brought him out and, unwilling to send him back to Mu'āwiyah, who would let him go, cut off his head.[648]

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b b. Fuqaym—Jundab—'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym, the paternal uncle of al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b [. . .][649] calling for help from the part of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr to 'Alī. At that time Muḥammad was their [3409]
governor. 'Alī rose among the men, having ordered a communal prayer service to be proclaimed and the men having gathered. He praised God and extolled Him, prayed for Muḥammad the Prophet, and then said,

> Now, this is the cry of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and your brethren among the people of Egypt. Ibn al-Nābighah,[650] the enemy of God and the friend of those who oppose God, has gone against them. Do not allow the people of error to be more united in their futility and their reliance on the path of wickedness (*ṭāghūt*) than you are in this just cause of yours. They have made the first move against you and your brethren in war; now you hasten to your brethren with assistance and help. Servants of God, Egypt is greater than Syria, more productive, and with better people. Do not let yourselves be defeated over Egypt, for the continuation of Egypt in your hands is a matter of pride for you and a humiliation for your enemy. Go out to al-Jara'ah[651] between al-Ḥīrah and al-Kūfah, and join me there tomorrow, God willing.

On the next day he walked out, arriving there early in the morning and waiting until it was about midday. Not one of them

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648. *Ann.*, A.H. 36 §400, and Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 98, note the similarity between the accounts of the killing of the two Muḥammads, Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah and Ibn Abī Bakr, both being associated with donkeys: not only was Ibn Abī Bakr burned in an ass's skin; his hiding place was revealed by *'ulūj*, a word that can mean "donkeys" as well as non-Arabs.

649. There is a lacuna in the text.

650. That is, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.

651. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. (II, 62).

came to him there and he went back. In the evening he sent to the notables (*ashrāf*), and they went in unto him in the governor's residence (*qaṣr*). He was dejected and downcast and he said,

> Praise be to God for what He has decreed concerning my affairs and ordained regarding what I do, and for my being put to the test through you, you party (*firqah*) of those who do not obey when I command or respond when I call. You are not worthy to be called sons![652] What do you expect for your steadfastness and *jihād* for your rightful cause? Death and humiliation are for you in this world for anything but what is right. By God, if death comes—and it will indeed come—it will certainly separate you and me, for I detest
> [3410] your companionship and I care nothing for you. I am amazed at you. No religion unites you and no zeal inflames you when you have heard that your enemy is coming to your country and launching an attack against you. Is it not astonishing that Mu'āwiyah summons the uncouth and the lowly and they follow him without stipend (*'aṭā'*) or support (*ma'ūnah*),[653] and they respond to him twice or thrice in one year for whatever purpose he desires? But I call you, you who are possessed of understanding, some of whom have a stipend and the rest receive support, but you remain apart from me, disobey me, and oppose me!

Mālik b. Ka'b al-Hamdānī, al-Arḥabī,[654] arose to respond to him and said, "Commander of the Faithful, send out the men for war for 'there is no perfume after the bride.'[655] I have kept myself for a day such as this and the reward only comes with the attack.[656] Fear God and answer your imam, help his cause (*da'wah*), and fight his enemy. I will set out for Egypt, Commander of the Faithful."

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652. *Lā abā li-ghayrikum.* See n. 528, above, for *lā abā lakum*; the addition of the *ghayr* seems to be euphemistic in force (see *Gloss.*, s.v.).

653. For these two forms of payment to soldiers, see *EI*², s.vv. In the present instance they appear to indicate different types of payment to different types of soldiers, the *ma'ūnah* being a gratuity to those not in receipt of regular stipends (*'aṭā'*).

654. He had witnessed the arbitration document on behalf of 'Alī (see n. 345, above).

655. Apparently meaning "there is no point in saving things beyond the event for which they were intended" (see Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, II, 482).

656. (?) *Wa-al-ajru lā ya'tī illā bi-al-kurrah.*

'Alī commanded his crier Sa'd, who proclaimed among the men, "Stand ready for Egypt with Mālik b. Ka'b!" Then he, and 'Alī with him, went out to see and found that altogether about 2,000 men had presented themselves. 'Alī said, "Set out but, by God, I think that by the time you reach the men in Egypt everything will be over."

Mālik set off with them and traveled for five days. Then al-Ḥajjāj b. Ghaziyyah al-Anṣārī, al-Najjārī, came to 'Alī from Egypt, and so [3411] did 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shabīb al-Fazārī.[657] Al-Fazārī was 'Alī's spy in Syria, while al-Anṣārī had been with Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. Al-Anṣārī told 'Alī what he had seen and witnessed and informed him about the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. And al-Fazārī told him that before he had left Syria the reports of good tidings from 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had arrived in succession, one after another, with news of the conquest of Egypt and the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, and his killing had been proclaimed from the *minbar*. He said, "Commander of the Faithful, rarely have I seen a people more overjoyed or a joy more openly manifested than I saw in Syria when news of the death of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr came to them." 'Alī said, "Indeed, our sorrow for him matches their joy—no, it is many times greater." And 'Alī sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ al-Shibāmī[658] to Mālik b. Ka'b, telling the latter to come back.

'Alī grieved for Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr so much that it was visible in his face and it was obvious. He stood among the men to deliver an address, and after praising God and extolling Him, and praying for His Prophet, said:

> The wicked ones (*al-fajarah*), those who are unjust and evil, those who turned people from the path of God and evilly wished Islam crooked,[659] have conquered Egypt. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr has been martyred—may God have mercy upon him—and we seek for his recompense with God. By God, he was, as I know, indeed one of those who await the (divine) decrees, act (to attain) the (eternal) reward, loathe the way of the wicked (*fājir*), and desire the right

657. For al-Ḥajjāj, see n. 293; for 'Abd al-Raḥmān, pp. 201, below.

658. Shibām b. As'ad were part of Hamdān and this 'Abd al-Raḥmān appears as a supporter of al-Mukhtār in Ṭabarī's account of the second civil war (see XX, 189–92, of this translation).

659. See Qur'ān 3:99.

path of the Believer. By God, I do not blame myself for failing, for I am fully experienced in enduring in war; I set about the matter boldly and resolutely, and I stand ex-
[3412] pressing my views effectively. I publicly call upon you for help and openly cry to you for assistance, but you do not heed what I say or obey what I command, so that things could not become worse for me. You are a people with whom vengeance will not be attained and revenge not taken. I have called you to the aid of your brethren for some fifty days, but you have gurgled as do slack-jawed camels slurping their water and you were sluggardly like people with no intention of waging *jihād* against the enemy or acquiring eternal reward. Then a tiny force came out to me from among you, one by one (*mutadhānib*)[660] "as if they were[661] being driven toward death while looking around." Shame on you!

Then he sat down. And he wrote to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, who was in al-Baṣrah:

In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, greetings. Praise be to God, for there is no other than He. Now, Egypt has been conquered and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr has been martyred. We look for his reward with God and we treasure him (in our hearts). At the very start I stood among the people and commanded them to help him before the calamity should occur. I summoned them in secret and in public, over and over again. Some of them came unwillingly, some made lying excuses, and some stayed where they were. I ask God that He give me a way out and an escape from them and that He deliver me from them before long. By God, if I were not so desirous of dying in God's cause (*shahādah*), then I would
[3413] not want to remain with these people for one day. May God strive to bring about for us and for you right guidance,

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660. See *Gloss.*, s.v.

661. Leiden has *ka-thabaratin*, but read *ka-annamā* with Cairo and (as noted by the Leiden editor) Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwayrī; and see Qur'ān 8:6.

(rightful) fear of Him and His right way. "He has power over everything."[662] Salutations.

Ibn 'Abbās wrote back:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. To the servant of God, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Commander of the Faithful, from 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās. Peace be upon you, Commander of the Faithful, and God's mercy and blessings. I have received your letter in which you mention the conquest of Egypt and the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. God's help is to be implored in every eventuality. May [3413]
> God have mercy upon Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and may He reward you, Commander of the Faithful. I have asked God to give you a way out and an escape from the flock with which you have been afflicted and that before long He strengthen you with the support of angels. God will do that for you and He will strengthen you and answer your call, and He will crush your enemy. I tell you, Commander of the Faithful, that the people sometimes drag their feet and then become eager. Treat them well, oh Commander of the Faithful, flatter them and give them something to hope for. Ask God for help regarding them. May God suffice to comfort you for the trouble they cause you. Salutations.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj—Mālik b. al-Ḥūr: 'Alī said, "May God have mercy on Muḥammad. He was a raw youth. I wish I had appointed the Mirqāl Hāshim b. 'Utbah[663] over Egypt. By God, if he had ruled it, he would not have allowed entrance to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and his helpers, the evildoers (*al-fajarah al-'arṣah*) and he would not have been slain without his sword in his hand, not without shedding blood like Muḥammad. But may God have mercy on Muḥammad, for he exerted himself (*ijtihād al-nafs*) and did his duty."

In this year, following the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Mu'āwiyah sent 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī[664] to al-Baṣrah

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662. See Qur'ān 41:39; 46:33.

663. See pp. 70ff. and n. 48, above.

664. Son of a *ḥalīf* of the Umayyads who was famous as the first Meccan to be killed by the Muslims after the Hijrah, 'Abdallāh himself seems to be known only

[3414] to appeal for acceptance of the judgment (*ḥukm*) of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in his favor. And in this year A'yan b. Ḍubay'ah al-Mujāshi'ī,[665] whom 'Alī had sent to drive Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī out of al-Baṣrah, was killed.

The Episode of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, Ziyād, and A'yan

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—Abū al-Dhayyāl—Abū Na'āmah: After Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had been killed in Egypt, Ibn 'Abbās departed from al-Baṣrah and went to 'Alī in al-Kūfah, leaving Ziyād[666] behind as his deputy. Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī came (to al-Baṣrah) from Mu'āwiyah and stayed among the Banū Tamīm. Ziyād sent to Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir and Mālik b. Misma',[667] saying, "You, group of Bakr b. Wā'il, belong to the supporters (*anṣār*) of the Commander of the Faithful, and his confidants. You know where Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī has lodged and who visits him there. Protect me (*imna'ūnī*) until I hear what the Commander of the Faithful thinks." Ḥuḍayn replied affirmatively, but Mālik's viewpoint inclined toward the Banū Umayyah (Marwān had sought refuge with him on the Day of the Camel).[668] He said, therefore, "This is a matter in which I cannot act alone—I will ask advice and consider."

When Ziyād saw Mālik's hesitation, he was afraid that the Rabī'ah[669] would be divided on the matter. He sent, therefore, to Nāfi' asking for advice.[670] Nāfi' advised him to approach Ṣabrah

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for this episode in al-Baṣrah. On the following episode, see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 400.

665. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. A'yan b. Ḍubai'a; Banū Mujāshi' b. Dārim of Tamīm.

666. That is, Ziyād b. Abīhi who, following the death of 'Alī, transferred his allegiance to Mu'āwiyah, was recognized by him as his own half-brother, and became one of the most famous governors of Iraq (see *EI*[1], s.v.).

667. Ḥuḍayn and Mālik were rival leaders of the Banū Shaybān of Bakr b. Wā'il (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.vv.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 113, 116).

668. See Ṭabarī, I, 3220.

669. That is, the confederation to which the Bakr b. Wā'il belonged.

670. The text seems to have something missing, and the translation follows the conjectural interpolation of the editor (p. 3414, note e). Nāfi' (b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah) was a uterine brother of Ziyād.

b. Shaymān al-Ḥuddānī,[671] to whom Ziyād sent, saying, "Will you not grant protection (*jiwār*)[672] to me and the treasury of the Muslims, for the treasury holds your spoils (*fay'*) and I am the trustee (*amīn*) of the Commander of the Faithful?" Ṣabrah answered, "Yes indeed, if you bring it to me and stay in my house." Ziyād said, "I will bring it." He did that and came to Banū al-Ḥuddān and stayed in the house of Ṣabrah b. Shaymān, and he moved the treasury and [3415]
the *minbar*[673] and put it in the mosque of the Banū al-Ḥuddān. Fifty men moved together with Ziyād, among them the father of Abū Ḥāḍir.[674]

On Friday Ziyād would lead the ritual prayer in the mosque of the Ḥuddān and distribute food there. Ziyād said to Jābir b. Wahb al-Rāsibī,[675] "Abū Muḥammad, I do not think Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī is going to hold back—I am sure he will fight against you. I do not know what views your men have. Consult them and see."

When Ziyād had led the prayer, he sat in the mosque and the men gathered around him. Jābir said, "Group of Azd, Tamīm are claiming that they are the ones who count and that they are more steadfast than you in war. I have heard that they desire to come against you so as to seize your guest (*jār*) and expel him by force from the garrison town. How will things be with you if they do that when you have given him and the treasury of the Muslims protection?" Ṣabrah b. Shaymān, who was accorded special respect, said, "If al-Aḥnaf comes, I will come, and if al-Ḥutāt comes, I will come;[676] but if merely young fellows come, then we have young

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671. Or Ṣabirah (the edition indicates both forms of the name). He was a leader of the Azd al-Sarāt in al-Baṣrah (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ṣabra b. Šaiman). Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 126, n. 1, 400, refers to him as Ṣabirah, and that is how Cairo vocalizes.

672. For *jiwār*, see *EI*², s.v. Djiwār; Crone, *Roman, Provincial, and Islamic Law*, 51–56.

673. The *minbar*, a dais from which the caliph or his representative delivered an official address (*khuṭbah*), was a symbol of authority. Neither it nor the *khuṭbah* had the mainly cultic significance that they later acquired and I have, therefore, avoided the common translations "pulpit" and "sermon."

674. Perhaps referring to the father of the Abū Ḥāḍir al-Asadī mentioned in Ṭabarī, II, 801–2, as an associate of 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah. The family of the latter claimed a relationship with Ziyād.

675. The brother of the Khārijī leader 'Abdallāh b. Wahb (see n. 464, above).

676. For al-Aḥnaf, see n. 351, above; for al-Ḥutāt b. Yazīd of the Banū Mujāshi' b. Dārim of Tamīm, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

fellows of our own (who will suffice)." Ziyād used to say, "I had to laugh, and I jumped up. There was never any stratagem I attempted to carry out in which I came closer to exposing myself than on that day when I was overcome with laughter."[677]

Then Ziyād wrote to 'Alī: "Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī has come from Syria and has put up in the house of the Banū Tamīm. He has lamented the death of 'Uthmān and appealed for war. Tamīm and most of the people of al-Baṣrah have given him the oath of allegiance and there was nobody left with me with whom I might seek protection so I have asked for it for myself and the treasury from Ṣabrah b.
[3416] Shaymān and I moved and put up with them. The party (*shī'ah*) of 'Uthmān continuously consorts with Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī."

'Alī sent A'yan b. Ḍubay'ah al-Mujāshi'ī to split his fellow tribesmen from Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī. He told him,[678] "See what the situation is. If the party of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī has been split, then that is what you want; but if they manage to persist in disobedience, then go and make *jihād* against them. If you see any holding back in those on your side, and you are afraid that you will not achieve what you want, use flattery and procrastination toward them. Then keep your ears and eyes open, for it will be as if the armies of God have drawn near you, fighting the evil ones."

A'yan arrived and went and stayed with Ziyād. Then he went to his fellow tribesmen and, having gathered some together, went up to Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī. He appealed to the latter's followers, but they abused him verbally and skirmished with him, so that he had to leave them. Subsequently a crowd (*qawm*) broke in upon him and killed him.

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677. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 126, n. 1, expresses puzzlement at Ziyād's laughter following Ṣabrah's remark, and the point of Ziyād's remark is indeed puzzling. Presumably the "stratagem" (*makīdah*) here refers to his attempt to manipulate the Azd into opposition to the Tamīm, and perhaps he was moved to laughter by what he saw as Ṣabrah's overestimation of his own value—needing Ṣabrah's support, he could not afford to be seen to be belittling him?

678. This phrase is not in the text, but is called for if we are to read, with the Leiden edition, following Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwayrī, *fa-wajjaha 'Aliyyun*. The Leiden editor notes that in the ms. it is possible to read *fa-wajjih 'alayya* ("send to me A'yan. . .") and, therefore, we could understand the following paragraph as a continuation of Ziyād's letter to 'Alī. However, the final sentences of the paragraph sound more appropriate in instructions from 'Alī to A'yan than in a letter from Ziyād to 'Alī.

After A'yan b. Ḍubay'ah had been killed, Ziyād wanted to fight Tamīm, but they sent to the Azd, saying, "We have not assailed your guest nor any of your men, so what do you want with our guest [Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī] and making war against us?" The Azd did not want to fight and said, "If they assail our guest, we will oppose them; but if they refrain from attacking ours, we will refrain from attacking theirs." They restrained themselves.

Ziyād wrote to 'Alī:

> A'yan b. Ḍubay'ah arrived and gathered together those of his clan who obeyed him, and with them he went in all seriousness and with a pure intention to Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and called upon the opponents to obey. He summoned them to desist and cease their discord, and most of them agreed.[679] That frightened the supporters of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, and many of those with them split away, giving them cause to expect that they would help him. There was skirmishing and A'yan returned to his own people, but then the enemy broke in upon him and took him unawares and he was felled. May God have mercy upon A'yan. At that I wanted to fight them, but there was no one I could prevail upon to hasten with me against them. The two tribes (Azd and Tamīm) have exchanged messages and refrained from fighting one another.

When 'Alī read his letter, he summoned Jāriyah b. Qudāmah al- [3417]
Sa'dī[680] and dispatched him with fifty men of the Banū Tamīm, and with him he sent Sharīk b. al-A'wal.[681] (It is also said that he sent Jāriyah with 500 men.) 'Alī wrote to Ziyād, approving of what he had done and telling him to aid Jāriyah b. Qudāmah and to offer him advice. Jāriyah came to al-Baṣrah and went to Ziyād, who said to him, "Be ready and take care lest there befalls you what befell your companion (A'yan). And do not trust any of the people (*qawm*)."

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679. (?) *Wa-wāfaqathum 'āmmatu qawmin*; the editor notes that Ibn al-Athīr has *wa-wāqafahum nahārahu*, and he suggests that we might read *wa-wāqafahum 'āmmata yawmin* ("confronted them for an entire day"; see *Gloss.*, s.v. *'āmmah*).

680. See n. 499, above, for this Tamīmī.

681. For this supporter of 'Alī, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

Jāriyah went to his own tribe (*qawm*) and read the letter of 'Alī to them. He made them promises and most of them responded to him. Then he went to Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and besieged him in the house of Sunbīl.[682] He set fire to the house with Ibn al-al-Ḥaḍramī and his supporters inside—there were seventy men (it is also said that there were forty). The people were dispersed and Ziyād returned to the governor's residence (*dār al-imārah*).

Ziyād then sent Ẓabyān b. 'Umārah,[683] who was one of those who had come with Jāriyah, with a letter to 'Alī [. . .][684] "And Jāriyah came to us and went against Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and put him in a state of commotion,[685] forcing him into one of the houses of the Banū Tamīm with a number of his companions after offering him forgiveness, warning him, and calling him to obedience. But they did not repent or turn back, and he set fire to the house with them inside, and burned them in it, and then it was destroyed over them. And away with those who are tyrannical and disobey!"

'Amr b. al-'Arandas al-'Awdī[686] said:

We sent Ziyād back to his residence,
and the guest of Tamīm vanished in smoke.
May God revile a people that roasted its guest.
[3418] "For two dirhams the skin of the sheep will be singed off"
Call out the slaughterers and their rabble,
after they have singed his (Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī's) head with flames.[687]
We are a people whose custom it is
to defend our protected guest from attack by force.
We have defended him when he abode among us,
and only (a people with) honor can defend its guest.
They (Tamīm) did not acknowledge the sanctity of the grant of protection,
when a noble people attaches great importance to its guest,

682. Following the Leiden text; the ms. has Sabīl (?) here and in I, 2906, where we are told that 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim returned to al-Baṣrah from Khurāsān and was present with Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī in the "house of Sunbīl/Sabīl" during this episode.
683. See n. 50, above, for this Tamīmī.
684. There is a lacuna in the text.
685. *Fa-taltalahu*; Cairo has *fa-qatalahu*.
686. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only citation of this poet.
687. For the three hemistichs, see *Gloss.*, s.v. *kh-n-q*.

Just as they did before with al-Zubayr,
on the evening when his arms were plundered.[688]

And Jarīr b. 'Aṭiyyah b. al-Khaṭafā[689] said:

You (Tamīm) acted treacherously toward al-Zubayr, and did not fulfill
your undertaking in the way that Azd did when they defended Ziyād.
Their guest received a mighty deliverance,
while the guest of the Banū Mujāshi' [Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī] became ashes.
If you had tied the rope of Abū Sa'īd,
then what the sword belt bears would have scattered the people.
He led the horses near the dust of death,
and enveloped them with the lances and spears.[690]

The Opposition of al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid and the Banū Nājiyah to 'Alī, and al-Khirrīt's Separation from Him

And among the events of this year (that is, the year 38 [658–659]) there was the declaration of opposition to 'Alī by al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid and the Banū Nājiyah, and al-Khirrīt's separation from him.[691]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith al-Azdī—his paternal uncle, 'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym: Al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid came to 'Alī, he being one of 300 men of the Banū Nājiyah who were with 'Alī in al-Kūfah. They had come with al-Khirrīt from

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688. According to the traditions, after the Camel al-Zubayr was granted *jiwār* by a man of Tamīm but was subsequently killed by Tamīmīs in Wādī al-Sibā' (see, e.g., Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 78–79; *EI*², s.v. Djamal).

689. One of the famous poets of the Umayyad period (see *EI*², s.v. Djarīr).

690. The last two verses refer to the abandonment of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (i.e., Abū Sa'īd, correctly identified in the Cairo ed.) by those Tamīmīs who had supported him in his revolt against Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik in 102/720. See Ṭabarī, II, 1395ff.; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 312ff.

691. For al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid and the following events, see *SNB*, III, 119–51; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, apud Levi della Vida, "Il Califfato," 486; *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §§192–200; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 86ff.; Morony, *Iraq*, 443–44; *EI*², s.v. al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdalbait b. al-Ḥārith. For the complex issue of the genealogy of the Banū Nājiyah, regarded by some as descended from Quraysh, see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 188–89 (Eng. tr., I, 173–74); Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Nāǧiya b. Ǧarm.

al-Baṣrah, whence they had gone out to join 'Alī on the Day of the Camel, and had been present with him at Ṣiffīn and al-Nahrawān. Al-Khirrīt came to 'Alī with 30 horsemen from among his men, proceeding in the midst of them until he stood before him, and said,
[3419] "By God, 'Alī, I will not obey your orders nor pray behind you, and tomorrow I shall separate from you." (That was after the appointment of the two arbitrators.)[692]

'Alī said to him, "May your mother be bereaved of you! Then you will disobey your Lord, violate your covenant, and cause only evil to yourself. Tell me why you are doing that." He answered, "Because you have given authority (to men) over the Book (of God) (*ḥakkamta fī al-kitāb*), and you have shown no strength for (defending) the truth when matters became serious, but have relied on those people who have done evil to themselves.[693] I upbraid you and detest them, and I separate myself from you all."

'Alī said to him, "Come, and I will study with you the Book and examine with you the authoritative precedents (*sunan*), and I will broach with you matters concerning the truth of which I am more knowledgeable than you, and perhaps you will understand that of which you are now unaware and perceive that about which you are now ignorant." Al-Khirrīt said, "Then I will return to you." 'Alī said, "Do not let Satan seduce you or ignorance carry you away. By God, if you seek right guidance from me and my advice and accept what I say, I shall lead you in the path of righteousness." And al-Khirrīt left 'Alī's presence and returned to his people.

I ('Abdallāh b. Fuqaym) hurried after him. One of his cousins was a friend of mine, and I wanted to meet that cousin and tell him what had happened so that he could tell al-Khirrīt to obey the Commander of the Faithful and accept his advice and so he could inform him that that would be better for him in the things of this world and those of the next. I went to al-Khirrīt's house, where he had arrived before me, and I stood by the door. Inside were some of his

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692. The sentence in parentheses is probably to be understood as an explanation of causation as well as temporal sequence, but the whole question of the temporal and causative relationship between the revolt of the Banū Nājiyah and the other events of the Fitnah is very complex (see the previous note for the different treatments of Wellhausen and Morony).

693. The locution (*ẓalamū anfusahum*) is Quranic.

companions who had not been with him when he had had the audience with 'Alī.

By God, he did not skimp on any detail about what had passed between himself and 'Alī, and then he said to them, "Men, I had decided to separate from this man. I have now left him on the understanding that I will return to him tomorrow, but tomorrow I think it is inevitable that I shall separate from him." Most of his men said, "Wait until you see him, and, if he produces something of which you approve, then accept it from him; if he does not, then how much better placed you will be to separate from him." He said to them, "An excellent idea!" [3420]

Then I asked permission to go in unto him, and they allowed me to. I said, "I implore you by God not to separate from the Commander of the Faithful and the community of the Muslims, not to provide grounds for the use of force against you, and not to kill those whom I see of your clansmen. 'Alī follows what is right." Al-Khirrīt said, "I will go to him tomorrow and listen to his arguments and see what he puts before me and has to say. If I see it to be what is right and true guidance, I will accept it; but, if I see it to be error and injustice, I will reject it."

I went apart with that cousin of his, who was one of al-Khirrīt's closest intimates. He was Mudrik b. al-Rayyān, one of the important men among the bedouins.[694] I said to him, "I owe to you the obligations that arise from brotherhood and love, in addition to the obligations of a Muslim to a Muslim. You have heard what your cousin has said about himself—work on him to make him change his mind and see the magnitude of what he is doing. I fear that if he separates from the Commander of the Faithful, he will kill both himself and his clansmen." He replied, "God bless you for a brother. You have given sincere advice and have been a true friend. If my friend wishes to separate from the Commander of the Faithful, I will separate from him and oppose him, and I shall be the most strenuous of the people against him. Later I shall talk to him privately and counsel him to obey the Commander of the Faithful,

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694. Mudrik seems to be known only from this account by 'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym (for his death in the fighting, see p. 185, below). It seems that *kāna min rijāl al-'arab* refers specifically to the bedouins.

to be his sincere advisor, and to remain with him. In that lies his good fortune and right guidance."

Then I left him, intending to go back to the Commander of the Faithful and inform him of the way things were, but I trusted in what my companion had said and so returned to my dwelling, where I spent the night. The next day I arose and when it was mid-morning I went to the Commander of the Faithful and sat in his presence for a while, wanting to tell him in private what I had heard from the cousin, but I sat there for a long while and the number of those present continued to increase. I therefore drew near to him and sat
[3421] behind him, and he leaned toward me to listen to what I had to say.

I told him what I had heard from al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid, what I had said to him, and what he had replied to me. And I told him what I had said to his cousin and how he had answered me. 'Alī said, "Let al-Khirrīt be. If he recognizes the truth and approaches it, we will recognize that and accept it from him. If he refuses to come, we will seek him." I said, "Commander of the Faithful, why do you not seize him now, put him in irons, and imprison him?" He answered, "If we did that with everyone whom we have suspicions about, we would fill our prisons with them. I think that should be done—he meant moving against people, imprisoning them, and punishing them—only when they manifest opposition against us."

I finished speaking to him and moved away and rejoined the others. After a short while 'Alī said, "Come here to me!" I did so, and he said to me secretly, "Go to the man's house and find out for me what he has done, for he has always previously come to me earlier than this."

I went to his house and found nobody there. I called out at the gates of other houses where there had been a group of his companions, and nobody replied or answered. So I returned to 'Alī, who said when he saw me, "Have they stayed and remained in security, or have they moved away and departed?" I replied, "Indeed, they have gone away and declared their position." He said, "They have done it! May there be 'a sweeping away' for them 'as Thamūd were swept away.'[695] Indeed, if the tips of lances had been trained upon

695. See Qur'ān 11:95. Thamūd are one of the peoples mentioned in the Qur'ān as having been destroyed by God for their refusal to accept His message.

them and swords been brought down upon their heads, they would have repented. Satan today has seduced them and misled them, and tomorrow he will 'rid himself of them'[696] and leave them in the lurch."

Ziyād b. Khaṣafah[697] stood up before him and said, "Commander of the Faithful, if the only harm was their separation from us, their loss would be no such great matter that we would grieve for them, for they added little to our numbers if they stayed, and their departure from us has decreased us but little. But we are afraid lest [3422] they alienate from us a large number of those they go to and who have previously been obedient to you. So allow me to go after them so that I can bring them back to you, God willing." 'Alī answered him, "Do you know where they are headed?" "No," he answered, "but I will go out and ask and follow after them." 'Alī said to him, "Go as far as Dayr Abī Mūsā,[698] may God have mercy on you, but do not go any farther until you receive my orders. If they have gone off as a group openly, then my officials will write telling me; but if they have split up and kept under cover, then that will keep them better hidden and I will write to my officials about them."

'Alī wrote one text and sent copies of it to his officials: "Some men have fled from us, and we suspect that they have headed toward the territory of al-Baṣrah. Make enquiries about them of the people of your region and set agents to keep a lookout for them in each district of your area. Write to me about anything that you hear concerning them. Salutations."

Ziyād b. Khaṣafah went as far as his house and gathered his men together. He praised God and extolled Him and then said, "Now, band of Bakr b. Wā'il, the Commander of the Faithful has assigned me to a matter of great importance for him and has commanded me to see to it quickly. You are his party (*shī'ah*) and his helpers (*anṣār*) and of all the clans you are the most trustworthy respecting his own self. So join with me in this right now, and make haste."

By God in no time at all 120 or 130 of them joined him and he said, "We are enough—we do not want more than this." They left

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696. See Qur'ān 8:48.
697. See n. 73, above.
698. Also mentioned in Ṭabarī, II, 644, in an account concerning al-Mukhtār, it is evidently outside al-Kūfah (not to be confused with Dār Abī Mūsā in the town).

and crossed the bridge and came to Dayr Abī Mūsā, where he stopped. He remained there for the rest of the day, awaiting the orders of the Commander of the Faithful.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Aʿwar al-Taymī—Abū
[3423] Saʿīd al-ʿUqaylī—ʿAbdallāh b. Wāʾl al-Taymī:[699] By God, I was with the Commander of the Faithful when a messenger[700] came to him with a letter from Qaraẓah b. Kaʿb al-Anṣārī[701] in his hands:

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. I inform the Commander of the Faithful that horsemen have passed us coming from al-Kūfah and heading toward Niffar[702] and that one of the *dihqāns* from the Lower Euphrates called Zādhān Farrūkh, one who has allied himself with our religion and community,[703] was coming from his maternal relatives in the district of Niffar. They arraigned him[704] and said, "Are you a Muslim or an infidel?" He answered, "Indeed, I am a Muslim." Then they asked him, "What do you say about ʿAlī?" and he replied, "Good things—I say that he is the Commander of the Faithful and the lord of mankind." They said to him, "You have committed unbelief, enemy of God!" A band of them then attacked him and cut him to bits. And they discovered one of the protected people (*ahl al-dhimmah*) with him, whom they asked, "What are you?" He replied, "One of the protected people," and they said, "Regarding this one, we have no right to arraign him." Then that protected man came and told us what had happened. I had been asking questions

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699. Of the Banū Taym of Bakr b. Wāʾil, he was subsequently active in the movement of the Tawwābūn (see vol. XX of this translation, pp. 80ff.). ʿAlī's reference to him below as "my nephew" is not to be taken literally.

700. *Fayj*, from Persian *payk*, possibly indicating a foot messenger or courier (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

701. A Companion of the Prophet who had been made governor of Al-Kūfah by ʿAlī before the Camel (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

702. Midway between al-Kūfah and (the later) al-Wāsiṭ near the southern end of the Nars canal (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 73–74).

703. Literally, "he has made the *ṣalāt*."

704. *ʿAraḍū lahu*, i.e., they subjected him to inquisition in the manner of the Khāriji *istiʿrāḍ* (see n. 489, above). The similarity between the following account and the previous stories that contrast the cruel Khāriji treatment of the Muslim with their strict observance of the rights of the *dhimmī* is obvious.

> about them, but no one could tell me anything. Now let the Commander of the Faithful write to me telling me his views so that I will know them. Salutations.

'Alī wrote back to him: "I have taken note of what you have said about the band that passed by you and slaughtered the pious Muslim while the transgressing infidel had security with them. They are a people whom Satan has seduced. They have gone astray and are like those who 'reckoned that there would be no *fitnah*, and they became blind and deaf.'[705] 'Make them hear and make them watch for a day'[706] on which their deeds will be known. Remain at your post and occupy yourself in collecting your taxes[707] and you will remain, as you have said, obedient and a sincere advisor. Salutations."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-A'war al-Taymī—Abū Sa'īd al-'Uqaylī—'Abdallāh b. Wa'l: 'Alī, peace be upon him, sent me with a letter to Ziyād b. Khaṣafah. At that time I was just a [3424] young man: "I ordered you to wait at Dayr Abī Mūsā until you received my orders. That was because I did not know the direction in which those people were headed. Now I have heard that they have gone in the direction of a settlement called Niffar. Follow them and enquire about them. They have killed a man of the Sawād[708] who had taken part in our prayer ritual. When you overtake them, send them back to me; but if they refuse, fight them and ask God for help against them. They have departed from the truth, shed inviolate blood, and spread fear on the roads. Salutations."

I took the letter from him but had not gone very far with it before I turned back and said, "Commander of the Faithful, should I not continue with Ziyād b. Khaṣafah against the enemy after I have given him your letter?" He answered, "My nephew, do so and I hope, by God, that you will be one of my helpers in the cause of the truth and one of my supporters against those evil ones." I said to him, "By God, Commander of the Faithful, I am indeed one of those, and I am at your service."

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705. Qur'ān 5:71.
706. Qur'ān 19:38.
707. *Aqbil 'alā kharājika.*
708. That is, the fertile ("black") land of Iraq.

Ibn Wa'l said: By God, I would not want to exchange those words of 'Alī for anything.[709] Then I went to Ziyād b. Khaṣafah with 'Alī's letter, riding a splendid and noble horse and bearing arms. Ziyād said to me, "Oh my nephew, I cannot do without you and indeed I want you to be with me in my task." I said to him, "I asked the permission of the Commander of the Faithful for that, and he gave it to me." Ziyād was delighted about that.

We left and came to Niffar, where we asked about them and were told that they had gone up toward Jarjarāyā.[710] We pursued them and were told that they had taken the road to al-Madhār,[711] and that is where they had camped when we caught up with them, having been there a day and a night. They had rested and foddered their
[3425] mounts, and they were relaxing. We, however, came to them tired and exhausted, fatigued and worn out. When they saw us, they rushed for their horses and mounted them while we advanced and came up to them and confronted them. Their leader, al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid, called out to us, "You who are blind of heart and of understanding, are you with God, His Book, and the precedent (*sunnah*) of His Prophet, or are you with the evildoers?" Ziyād b. Khaṣafah answered him, "Indeed we are with God and with him to whom God and His Book and His Prophet are preferable as a reward to the things of this world from the time it was created until the day when it ends, you who are blind of understanding and deaf of heart and hearing."

Al-Khirrīt said to us, "Tell me what you want," and Ziyād, who was experienced and temperate in manner, said, "You see how exhausted and hungry we are, and the thing we have come for is not helped by open argument in the hearing of my men and yours. Let us both dismount, and then we will meet together in private and discuss this business of ours together. We will consider, and if you think the thing we have come for is of benefit for you, you will accept it. If I think that in what I hear from you there is something of advantage for us and for you, I will not reject it." Al-Khirrīt said, "Let us dismount, then."

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709. *Ḥumr al-na'am*; literally, "the choicest camels" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *aḥmar*).

710. On the Tigris to the north of Niffar (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 37).

711. Exact site unknown, but to the east of the Tigris in the Jūkhā region and in the vicinity of Nahrawān (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 42–43).

Ziyād came back to us and said, "Let us dismount by this water." When we had reached the water, we began to dismount and before long we had dismounted and split up into groups and formed circles of ten, nine, eight, and seven, each placing their food in front of them and eating and then going to the water to drink. Ziyād said to us, "Put the nosebags on your horses," and we did so, while Ziyād remained between us and the enemy, who moved aside and then dismounted.

Ziyād turned to us, and when he saw that we had split up and formed circles he said, "Glory be to God! Are you men of war! By God, if these should come against you now while you are in this [3426] state, they could not ask of anyone anything better for them than the state you are in. Be quick and go to your horses!" We made haste and scurried about. Among us there were those who had relieved themselves and were making their ablutions,[712] those who were drinking, and those who were giving water to their horses.

When we had finished that, Ziyād came to us with a root in his hand that he was tearing at with his teeth. He tore two or three bites from it and then was brought a vessel containing water, from which he drank. He cast down the root from his hand and said, "Men, we have met our enemy and, by God, you are equal in number to them. I have made a rough estimate, and I do not think that either of the two sides has five men more than the other. And, by God, I think that the issue between you is bound to end in fighting. If things do bring you and them to that, do not be the weaker of the two." Then he said to us, "Let each one of you take hold of the reins of his horse (and wait) until I approach the enemy, summon their leader to me, and argue with him. If he gives me the oath of allegiance on the conditions that I have laid down, well and good; but if I call to you, mount your horses and then come to me altogether, not dispersed."

He went on before us (and I was with him) and I heard one of the enemy saying, "When they came against you they were weary and fatigued while you were relaxed and rested. But you have allowed them to dismount, eat, drink, and rest. That was a bad

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712. *Yatanaffaḍu thumma yatawaḍḍa'u.* Biberstein-Kazimirski's Arabic-French dictionary has relevant meanings under *n-f-ḍ*, forms VIII and X.

decision for, by God, the matter that is between us will inevitably result in fighting."

They fell silent and we went up to them. Ziyād b. Khaṣafah summoned their leader and said, "Let us go aside and examine this matter of ours." By God, he came to Ziyād in a party of five, so I said to Ziyād, "Call up three more of our men so that we meet them on equal terms," and he answered, "Call up whomever you wish." So I called up three of our men and we were five strong each.

[3427] Ziyād asked him, "What did you hold against the Commander of the Faithful and us, and why did you separate from us?" He replied, "I did not approve of your leader as an imam and I did not approve of your conduct. Therefore I decided that I would go apart and join those who call for consultation (*al-shūrā*). Then, when a man acceptable to the whole of the community was agreed upon, I would be with the people (as a whole)." Ziyād said to him, "Woe to you! Can the people agree on a man from among them who (even) approximates, in his knowledge of God, His precepts (*sunan*), and His Book, and also in his close relationship to the Prophet and precedence in accepting Islam, to your lord from whom you have separated?" The opponent answered him, "I have told you my views." Ziyād then asked him, "Why did you kill that Muslim man?" He replied, "It was not I who killed him, but a band of my men." Ziyād said, "Hand them over to us," but he replied, "There are no grounds for that." Ziyād responded, "Is that your final decision?" and he insisted, "It is as you hear."

We called up our men and he called up his, and then we advanced and, by God, such fighting was never seen since my Lord created me. We thrust at each other with lances until none remained in our hands, and we exchanged blows with swords until they were twisted out of shape. Most of the horses, ours and theirs, were hamstrung, and the injured men on both sides were numerous. Two of our men were killed, the *mawlā* of Ziyād, called Suwayd, who carried Ziyād's banner, and one of the *abnā'*[713] called Wāfid b. Bakr. We felled five of them, and then night fell and drew a veil between us. By God, neither we nor they had any desire to continue fighting, and both Ziyād and I were wounded.

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713. Perhaps indicating Persian ancestry (see EI^2 and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, both s.v. *abnā'*), but the name is purely Arab.

The enemy then withdrew and we spent the night apart. After a time, during the night, they moved off, and we followed them as far as al-Baṣrah, where we heard that they had gone to al-Ahwāz and had camped on its border. There about 200 of their supporters who had been with them in al-Kūfah joined them. These had not been strong enough to rise up together with the others, but had risen up (subsequently) and followed them and joined them in the [3428] territory of al-Ahwāz, where they remained with them.

Ziyād b. Khaṣafah wrote to ʿAlī:

> We overtook the enemy of God from the Banū al-Nājiyah at al-Madhār and we summoned them to the right path and the truth and to what we have in common.[714] But they did not abide in the truth "and pride in sin seized them"[715] "and Satan made their deeds seem beautiful to them and turned them from the path."[716] They attacked us, but we fought back at them and we struggled fiercely from noon to sunset. Two of our righteous men fell as martyrs and five of the enemy were killed. They abandoned the field to us, and injuries were widespread on both sides. Then, when night fell, they departed under cover of it, turning aside to the territory of al-Ahwāz. We have heard that they are camped there in a part of it while we are in al-Baṣrah, healing our wounds and awaiting your command. May God have mercy upon you and peace be upon you.

When I delivered his letter, ʿAlī read it out loud to the men and Maʿqil b. Qays arose before him and said, "Commander of the Faithful, God keep you. There should have been ten of the Muslims in the place of each one of those who have gone after those men. When they overtook them, they would have rooted them out and suppressed them completely. But, if an equal number confront them, by my life, they hold fast against them. They are Arabs and one number holds fast against the same and obtains its rights from it."

ʿAlī said, "Maʿqil b. Qays, get ready to go against them," and he detailed 2,000 of the men of al-Kūfah to go with him, including

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714. *Ilā. . .kalimat al-sawāʾ*; see Qurʾān 3:64.
715. See Qurʾān 2:206.
716. Qurʾān 27:24, 29:38.

Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdī.[717] He wrote to Ibn 'Abbās: "Send a firm and brave man who is known for his righteousness together
[3429] with 2,000 men to follow after Ma'qil. As he goes through the territory of al-Baṣrah he will be the commander of his men until he reaches Ma'qil. But, once he has come to Ma'qil, the latter will be the commander of both forces and your man must listen to what he says and obey him and not oppose him. And tell Ziyād b. Khaṣafah to come to me. What an excellent man he is and how excellent those of his men who have fallen!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-A'war—Abū Sa'īd al-'Uqaylī: 'Alī wrote to Ziyād b. Khaṣafah:

> Now, I have received your letter and taken note of what you say about the man of the Banū Nājiyah and his brethren "on whose hearts God has set a seal"[718] "and Satan has made their deeds seem beautiful to them and they go astray"[719] "while they think that they are performing good deeds."[720] And you have described what happened to you and to them. As for you and your men, may God bless your effort and from God is due your reward. Rejoice in the reward of God for it is better than this world over which the ignorant ones destroy their souls. "What is with you passes while what is with God persists. We shall surely give those who were steadfast their reward according to the best of what they have done."[721] As for your enemy whom you met, sufficient for them is their having left the right guidance for error and their perpetration of it, their having rejected the truth and being obstinate in *fitnah*. "So leave them and the falsehood they fabricate"[722] and leave them "in their insolence wandering astray"[723] and you yourselves hear and understand. I can see you among them shortly, some of them captive, others slain. Come, you and your men, to us well rewarded.

717. Leiden vocalizes as Mughfil, Cairo as Mughaffal (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, has several instances of Mughaffal but none of Mughfil).
718. Qur'ān 16:108, 47:16.
719. Qur'ān 27:24, 29:38, and 27:4.
720. Qur'ān 18:104.
721. Qur'ān 16:96.
722. Qur'ān 6:112, 6:137.
723. Qur'ān 6:110, 7:186.

You have heard and obeyed, and done well in the test. Salutations.

The man of the Banū Nājiyah[724] remained encamped in a part of al-Ahwāz, where many of the local non-Arabs (*'ulūj*) joined him, desiring to avoid the *kharāj*,[725] as well as many bandits and another group of bedouin who adopted his position against 'Alī. [3430]

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madā'inī]—'Alī b. Mujāhid—al-Sha'bī: After 'Alī had slain the people at al-Nahrawān, many came out in opposition to him. His outlying provinces rebelled against him and the Banū Nājiyah opposed him. Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī came to al-Baṣrah, the people of al-Ahwāz rebelled, and those subject to the *kharāj* were eager to avoid it, Then Sahl b. Ḥunayf was expelled from Fārs, where he had been 'Alī's governor. Ibn 'Abbās proposed to 'Alī, "I will take care of Fārs for you by means of Ziyād," and 'Alī told Ibn 'Abbās to send Ziyād there. Ibn 'Abbās went to al-Baṣrah and sent Ziyād to Fārs with a strong army, which he used to suppress the people of Fārs, who then fulfilled their duty to pay *kharāj*.

According to Abū Mikhnaf, whose account is now resumed—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b—'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym al-Azdī: I and my brother Ka'b were in that army under Ma'qil b. Qays. When he intended to depart, he went to 'Alī, who bade him farewell and said, "Ma'qil, fear God to your utmost. It is God's instruction (*waṣiyyah*) to the Believers that you should not act unjustly to those of your religion and community,[726] should not commit evil against the protected people, and should not wax proud, for God does not love those who wax proud." Ma'qil said, "God's help is to be sought,"[727] and 'Alī responded, "(He is) the best of those whose help is to be sought."

Ma'qil set out, and we with him, and we came to al-Ahwāz.[728] We remained there, awaiting the men from al-Baṣrah, for they had delayed in joining us. Ma'qil b. Qays stood among us and said, "Men, we have waited for the men of al-Baṣrah but they have kept us

724. That is, al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid.
725. Literally, "to break (*kasara*) it."
726. Literally, "those who share your direction of prayer" (*ahl al-qiblah*).
727. Qur'ān 12:18.
728. The name of the province, and its capital, at the head of the Persian Gulf to the east of Iraq. It is also called Khūzistān. (See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 232ff.)

waiting and we are not, praise be to God, few or lacking support. Let us go, therefore, against this paltry and lowly enemy, and I hope that God will aid you and destroy them."

My brother Ka'b b. Fuqaym addressed him and said, "You are
[3431] right, may God guide you, in your views. By God, I hope that God will help us against them but, if it is otherwise, then in death while following the truth is a consolation for the loss of this world." Ma'qil said, "Go on with the blessing of God." We went on and, by God, Ma'qil did not cease to display honor and affection for me, above that which he showed to anyone else in the army. He kept repeating, "How did you say it?—'In death while following the truth there is consolation for the loss of this world'? You spoke the truth, by God, and said a good thing, and have been truly guided."[729]

We had gone on for less than a day when a messenger overtook us, rushing with a letter (*ṣaḥīfah*) in his hand from 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: "If my messenger reaches you in the place where you were waiting or he reaches you when you have left it, do not leave the place where my messenger gets to you. Stay there until the expedition that we have sent to you arrives. For I have sent Khālid b. Ma'dān al-Ṭā'ī,[730] one of the men of righteousness, religion, bravery, and courage. Give ear to him and and acknowledge those qualities. Salutations." Ma'qil read the letter out loud to the men and praised God, for that plan (of marching on without the Baṣrans) had frightened them. We waited, therefore, until the Ṭā'ī reached us. He came and went in unto our leader, greeting him as the holder of authority, and they joined together to form one army.

Then we departed and moved against the enemy, who began to go up toward the hills of Rāmhurmuz,[731] aiming for a fortified castle there. But the people of the region came to us and informed us about that, and we went after them in pursuit. We caught up with them as they had drawn near to the hill. We formed ourselves into a line against them and proceeded toward them. Ma'qil placed Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal over his right wing, and Minjāb b. Rāshid al-Ḍabbī,

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729. The narrator seems to have switched from 'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym to his brother Ka'b. See the following explicit reference to Ka'b as the narrator.

730. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; and *EI*², s.v. Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb (Khālid was the grandfather of the 'Abbāsids' general Qaḥṭabah).

731. Rāmhurmuz is a town three days' march east of the town of Ahwāz (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 243–44).

one of the men of al-Baṣrah, over his left.[732] Al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nājī formed a line out of those bedouin who were with him, and [3432]
they made up his right wing. And he put the local people, the non-Arabs, those who wanted to avoid the *kharāj* and their followers from among the Kurds[733] as a left wing.

Ma'qil b. Qays went around among us, encouraging us and saying, "Servants of God, do not look the enemy directly in the eye but lower your gaze and speak little. Prepare yourselves for thrusting and striking and rejoice in the expectation of the great reward for fighting them. You will be fighting only renegades (*māriqah*) who have reneged on the religion, non-Arabs who have refused the *kharāj*, and Kurds. Wait until I attack and then charge as one man." He passed along the whole of the line, saying that to them until, when he had passed by all of the men, he went forward and took his place in the center of the line in the 'heart.'[734] We looked to see what he would do, and he waved his banner twice and, by God, they withstood us only for a short while before turning in flight, and we slaughtered 70 bedouins of the Banū Nājiyah and their bedouin followers, and we killed about 300 of the non-Arabs and Kurds.

Ka'b b. Fuqaym continued: I looked among the bedouin who were killed and found my friend Mudrik b. al-Rayyān, slain.

Al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid fled until he came to the shores of the sea, where there was a significant number of his tribe. He continued going around among them and summoning them to oppose 'Alī, explaining to them (the reasons for) his separation from him, and telling them that the right path lay in fighting him, until many of them followed him.

Ma'qil b. Qays remained in the territory of al-Ahwāz and sent me with a letter to 'Alī, telling of his success. It was I who went to 'Alī, and Ma'qil wrote to him: "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, to the servant of God, 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, from Ma'qil b. Qays. Peace be upon you and I praise God other than Whom there is no god. We met the renegades, who

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732. For Minjāb, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Minǧāb.

733. On the Kurds in the early Islamic period, and reference to their involvement with al-Khirrīt, see *EI*², s.vv. Kurds, Kurdistān.

734. *Fī al-qalb*, i.e., *qalb al-jaysh*, the main body of the army.

had sought help against us from the polytheists (*mushrikīn*).[735] We
[3433] killed them as 'Ād and Iram were killed,[736] save only that we did not abandon your manner of acting (*sīrah*) regarding them: we did not kill any of the renegades who had turned away (in flight) or any prisoner, and we did not dispatch any wounded man of them. God has given you and the Muslims victory, and 'Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds.'"[737]

I came to him with this letter, and he read it out loud to his men and asked for the benefit of their opinions. They were unanimous in their view and said to him, "We think that you should write to Ma'qil b. Qays and that he should go after the evil one (*fāsiq*) and keep pursuing him until either he kills him or drives him out of your territories, for we fear that he will cause mischief for you among the people."

'Alī sent me back to Ma'qil with a letter in reply: "Praise be to God for supporting His friends and disappointing His enemies. May God give you and the Muslims a goodly reward, for you have performed well and fulfilled your duty. Ask about the man of the Banū Nājiyah and, if you hear that he has taken up residence anywhere, go after him to kill him or expel him for he will continue to be an enemy to the Muslims and a friend of the evildoers (*qāsiṭīn*) as long as he lives. Peace be upon you."

Ma'qil asked about where al-Khirrīt had established himself and where he had come to and was told that he was by the seashore and that he had persuaded his people to renounce their obedience to 'Alī and corrupted those of the Banū 'Abd al-Qays in his vicinity and their allies among the rest of the Arabs.[738] In the year of Ṣiffīn his tribe had refused to pay the *ṣadaqah*,[739] and they had also refused

735. Presumably, here referring to the Christians.

736. According to the Qur'ān, pre-Islamic peoples who were destroyed by God for refusing to accept His messengers.

737. Qur'ān 1:1.

738. That is, he had won them over.

739. The *ṣadaqah* (sometimes used synonomously with *zakāt*) is in Muslim law an alms tax incumbent upon Muslims; the ruling authorities regarded its collection as their prerogative. Sometimes the word is used more loosely to mean alms or charity of a voluntary sort. In the early Islamic period it frequently appears as the name of a tax demanded by the rulers from the Arab tribes—see an example on p. 200, below. (See *EI*², s.vv. Ṣadaḳa, Zakāt).

it in the current year, so that a payment of two years[740] was now due from them.

Ma'qil went against them with that army made up of men of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, and followed the road to Fārs[741] until he reached the seashore. When al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid heard that he was coming, he approached those of his men who were with him who held the views of the Khawārij and confided to them, "I share your views, and 'Alī should not give authority to men (*yuḥakkim al-rijāl*) in the affairs of God." But he said to the others, making his criticisms more public before them, "'Alī granted authority to an arbitrator (*ḥakkama ḥakaman*) and was satisfied with (the choice of) him. That arbitrator, whom he had approved for himself, declared 'Alī removed from office. I accepted what ('Alī) approved for himself of his decision and his judgment (*min qaḍā'ihi wa-ḥukmihi*)." (This was the view according to which he departed from al-Kūfah.)[742] To those who sympathized with 'Uthmān, he said secretly, "By God, I share your views. By God, 'Uthmān was killed unjustly." Thus he gave satisfaction to each category of them and led them to think that he was with them. He said to those who had refused to pay the *ṣadaqah*. "Keep a firm grip on your *ṣadaqāt*, bestow them on your relatives, and if you wish, give them up to those among you who are destitute."[743] [3434]

Among them were many Christians who had accepted Islam, but when dissension had developed in Islam had said, "By God, our religion (*dīn*) from which we have departed is better and more correct than that which these people follow. Their religion does not stop them from shedding blood, terrifying the roads, and seizing properties." And they returned to their former religion. Al-Khirrīt met them and said to them, "Woe unto you! Do you know the precept (*ḥukm*) of 'Alī regarding any Christian who accepts Islam and then reverts to Christianity? By God he will not hear anything

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740. *'Iqālān*.

741. The province east and south of Ahwāz (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VI); evidently al-Khirrīt had gone south from Rāmhurmuz and was on the extreme northeast shore of the Gulf.

742. Because it seems that this sentence should be read as a comment by the narrator rather than as a part of al-Khirrīt's words, the subject of *kharaja min al-Kūfah* must be al-Khirrīt himself. Al-Khirrīt is here presenting his opposition to 'Alī as stemming from the latter's failure to accept *the verdict of* the arbitration.

743. That is, "the decision whether to give *ṣadaqah*, and if so to whom, is yours."

they say, he will not consider any excuse, he will not accept any repentance, and he will not summon them to it. His precept regarding them is immediate cutting off of the head when he gets hold of them."[744] Al-Khirrīt continued thus until he had united them and duped them (into following him). Those of the Banū Nājiyah and others who were in that district came to him, and many men joined him.

According to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Azdī—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān—'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd—Abū Janāb—al-Ḥurr—'Ammār al-Duhnī—Abū al-Ṭufayl:[745] I was in the army that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib sent against the Banū Nājiyah. We came to them and found them split into three groups. Our commander said to one of these groups,
[3435] "What are you?" and they replied, "We are a Christian people who do not consider any religion to be better than ours, and we hold fast to it." Our commander said to them, "Be off with you (*i'tazilū*)!" He said to another band, "What are you?" and they said, "We were Christians, but we accepted Islam and we hold fast to our Islam." He said to them, "Be off with you!" Then he said to the third group, "What are you?" and they said, "We are a people who were Christians. We accepted Islam but we do not think, that any religion is better than our previous one." He said to them, "Accept Islam!" but they refused. He said to his men, "When I rub my head three times, attack them and kill the fighting men and make captive the dependents."

The dependents were brought to 'Alī, and Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah[746] came and bought them for 200,000 dirhams. He delivered 100,000 (dirhams) but 'Alī would not accept it (requiring the whole of the agreed sum to be paid), and Maṣqalah went off with the money, came to the captives, and set them free, and himself absconded to

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744. For differing views as to whether the apostate should be given the opportunity to repent and return to Islam, see *EI*¹, s.v. murtadd.

745. The *isnād* is problematic. This is Ṭabarī's only citation from an 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan who is specifically designated as al-Azdī, although he has three others from an unspecified 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan. The name following 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd is obscure in the ms. The Leiden editor, comparing with an *isnād* from Abū Mikhnaf on p. 3297, l. 9, suggests that 'Abd al-Malik has transmitted from Abū Janāb al-Kalbī from al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ al-Nakha'ī. The Cairo editor reads 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd b. Ḥāb (this would be Ṭabarī's only mention of him), transmitting from al-Ḥurr.

746. Of the Banū Shaybān/Bakr b. Wā'il (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Maṣqala; *SNB*, III, 127).

Mu'āwiyah. 'Alī was asked, "Will you not recapture those dependents?" but he refused and did not concern himself with them.[747]

According to Abū Mikhnaf, whose account is now resumed—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b: When Ma'qil b. Qays returned, he read out loud to us a letter from 'Alī:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, to those Believers, Muslims, Christians, and Apostates (*murtadd*) to whom this letter of mine is read. Peace be upon you and upon whoever follows the right path and believes in God, His Messenger, His Book, and Resurrection after death, fulfills the covenant of God and is not one of the faithless ones. I summon you to the Book of God, the precedent (*sunnah*) of His Prophet, and acting according to the truth. For that is what[748] God commanded in the Book. Whoever of you returns to his family, restrains his hand, and withdraws from this warmongering killer who has started to fight against God and His Messenger and the Muslims, and has spread evil upon the earth, he has security for his property and his blood. But whoever supports him in making war against us and forsaking our [3436]
> obedience, we have asked God for help against him and made God the judge between us, and "God is a sufficient helper."[749]

Ma'qil broke out a flag of security, raised it, and said, "Whoever comes to it has security, except for al-Khirrīt and his men, who have waged war against us and attacked us on the first occasion." Most of those with him who were not of his tribe separated from al-Khirrīt, and Ma'qil b. Qays prepared his men to fight. He placed Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdī over his right wing and al-Minjāb b. Rāshid al-Ḍabbī over his left, and then he advanced with them against al-Khirrīt. With al-Khirrīt were the Muslims and Christians from his tribe, and those who refused to pay the *ṣadaqah*.

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747. The story becomes clearer in the fuller version given later (p. 192, below).

748. *Wa-bihi amara Allāhu fī al-kitāb.* Cairo has *wa-bimā* (. . . acting according to the truth, and what God commanded . . .), which is more expected.

749. Qur'ān 4:45.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b—Abū al-Ṣiddīq al-Nājī: At that time al-Khirrīt said to his men, "Defend what your honor requires you to defend (*ḥarīmaka*) and fight for your women and children. By God, if they are triumphant over you, they will slay you and take you prisoner." One of his men said to him, "By God, this is what your hands and your tongue have inflicted upon us." Al-Khirrīt said, "Fight, all of you, God bless you! 'The sword has anticipated the censure.'[750] Be silent! By God, a calamity has befallen my people."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b—'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym: Ma'qil went among us, urging on the men, moving between the right and left wings and saying, "You Muslims (*ayyuhā al-nās al-muslimūn*), you will not obtain any greater reward than that which has been handed to you in this place. God has led you to a people who have refused to pay the *ṣadaqah*, apostasized from Islam, and violated the oath of allegiance out of evil and enmity.
[3437] I bear witness that paradise is for whomever of you is killed, and God will delight the eyes of whomever lives with victory and booty (*al-ghanīmah*)." He kept on like that until he had passed by all of the men, and then he came and stood in the center with his banner.

Then he sent to Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal, who was with the right wing, "Attack them!" Yazīd did so, but they held firm and fought fiercely, and Yazīd withdrew and resumed the position he had occupied on the right wing. Ma'qil then sent to Minjāb b. Rāshid al-Ḍabbī on the left, and he attacked, but the enemy held firm and fought fiercely for a long time and Minjāb, too, withdrew and resumed his previous position.

Ma'qil sent orders to both the right and the left wings, "When I attack, follow me all together!" He waved his banner and brandished it aloft and then attacked, his men joining him all together. Al-Khirrīt's men held fast for a while, but then al-Nu'mān b. Ṣuhbān al-Rāsibī of the Banū Jarm[751] spied al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid, attacked him, stabbed him, and brought him down from his mount. He himself then dismounted, having wounded al-Khirrīt and weakened him.

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750. See Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, I, 599; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *shajn*. A saying used when one has been criticized for something but it is too late to go back on it.

751. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. For his role in al-Baṣrah in the second civil war, see Ṭabarī, II, 444–47 (= tr. XX, 20–23); there he is described as a man of Muḍar, although his tribe of Jarm is counted to Quḍā'ah.

They exchanged two blows and al-Nu'mān b. Ṣuhbān killed al-Khirrīt.

Of his men, 170 were killed with him in the battle, and the remainder fled in all directions. Ma'qil b. Qays sent the cavalry after them to the baggage camp and took prisoner those he caught up with. He captured a large number of men, women, and children and examined them. The Muslims he let go after taking the oath of allegiance from them, and he allowed them to keep their families. To the apostates he offered (reacceptance of) Islam, and they came back to it and he let them go together with their families. But there was an old man among them, a Christian called al-Rumāḥis b. Manṣūr,[752] who said, "By God, the only error I have made since attaining reason was abandoning my religion, the religion of truth, for yours, the religion of wickedness. No by God, I will not leave my religion and I will not accept yours so long as I live." Ma'qil [3438]
brought him forward and cut off his head.

Ma'qil gathered the (defeated) people together and told them, "Bring what *ṣadaqah* you owe for these years," and he took two years' payment (*'iqālayn*) from the Muslims (among them). He turned to the Christians and their dependents and immediately dragged them away. The Muslims (among those who had supported al-Khirrīt) came with them, to accompany them, but Ma'qil ordered that the Muslims should be sent back. When they turned away, they clasped hands and wept, and the men and the women wept with each other.

('Abdallāh b. Fuqaym said:) I bear witness that I never felt such compassion for anyone before or after.

Ma'qil b. Qays wrote to 'Alī:

> I inform the Commander of the Faithful about his army and his enemies. We pushed on to our enemy on the seashore and found there tribes strong in number, violent and earnest. They had been gathered against us and made common cause against us. We summoned them to obedience and community, to the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Book and of the precedent (*sunnah*); we read out loud to them the letter of the Commander of the Faithful, and we raised aloft

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752. The name al-Rumāḥis does not seem to be specifically Christian.

to them a flag of safe-conduct. A group of them inclined toward us, while another group remained hostile. We accepted those who came forward and we fought against[753] those who turned away. God put them to flight[754] and gave us victory over them. We were gracious to any Muslim, took his oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful, and took possession of the *ṣadaqah* that was due from them. For anyone who had apostatized, we offered return to Islam or else death. They all returned apart from one man, whom we killed. As for the Christians, we made them captive and led them off so that they might be a warning for those of the protected peoples who come after them not to refuse the *jizyah*[755] and not to make bold against our religion and community,[756] for the protected people are of little account and lowly in status. May God have mercy upon you, Commander of the Faithful, and award to you
[3439] gardens of delight. Peace be upon you.

He then brought along the prisoners and passed with them by Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah al-Shaybānī, who was 'Alī's governor over Ardashīrkhurrah.[757] There were 500 of them, and the women and children were weeping while the men cried out, "Abū al-Faḍl [i.e., Maṣqalah], protector of the men and liberator of the captives, be good to us—buy us and free us." Maṣqalah said, "I swear by God that I will give *ṣadaqah* for them (i.e., to buy their release) for 'God repays those who give *ṣadaqah*.' "[758]

Ma'qil was told about that and said, "By God, if I knew that he had said that out of compassion for them and contempt for you,

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753. *Ṣamadnā ṣamdan li*...

754. *Ḍaraba Allāhu wujūhahum*; see *Gloss.*, s.v. *ḍ-r-b*.

755. In Muslim law the *jizyah* is a tax payable by the protected non-Muslims at a fixed rate per head (a "poll tax"). In early Islam the significance of the word varies according to context, but here it clearly refers to a payment taken from the non-Muslims. The following reference to the subordinate status of the non-Muslims (*wa-hum ahlu al-ṣaghār wa-al-dhull*) echoes Qur'ān 9:29, *ḥattā yu'ṭū al-jizyata 'an yadin wa-hum ṣāghirūna*. See further *EI*², s.v. Djizya.

756. Literally, "those who share our direction of prayer" (*ahl al-qiblah*).

757. One of the five districts into which Fars was subdivided, its chief town was Shīrāz (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VI and 248).

758. Qur'ān 12:88. Here *ṣadaqah* has its more general sense (see n. 739, above).

I would cut off his head, even if that meant the mutual destruction of Tamīm and and Bakr b. Wā'il."[759]

Then Maṣqalah sent Dhuhl b. al-Ḥārith al-Dhuhlī[760] to Ma'qil b. Qays, asking, "Sell me the Banū Nājiyah," and Ma'qil replied, "Alright, I will sell them you for a million dirhams," and he sent them to Maṣqalah, telling him, "Send the money quickly to the Commander of the Faithful." Maṣqalah said, "I am sending a first installment immediately, and then I will send another similar and keep on until all is paid, please God." Ma'qil b. Qays went to the Commander of the Faithful and told him what he had done regarding that, and 'Alī told him, "You have done well and acted right." 'Alī waited for Maṣqalah to send him the money, and he heard that Maṣqalah had set free the captives without asking them to help him in any way in liberating themselves.[761] 'Alī said: "I suspect that Maṣqalah must have borne the burden of expenditure. I think that you will soon see him cleaving to the ground."[762]

Then 'Alī wrote to Maṣqalah: "One of the worst types of falseness is falseness regarding the community, and one of the worst forms of deception against the men of the garrison is deception of the imam. You owe the Muslims 500,000 dirhams. Send them to me as soon as my messenger reaches you. Otherwise, come (yourself) as soon as you have looked at this letter, for I have told my messenger to you not to allow you to wait for one hour after he has come to you unless you send the money. Peace be upon you." The messenger was Abū Jurrah al-Ḥanafī,[763] and Abū Jurrah said to Maṣqalah, "Send the money now or set out for the Commander of the Faithful." [3440]

After he had read the letter, Maṣqalah went and lodged in Baṣrah, where he remained for some days, and then Ibn 'Abbās asked him

759. The tribe of Ma'qil, the Banū Riyāḥ, was counted as part of Tamīm/Muḍar, while Maṣqalah's tribe, the Banū Shaybān, was attached to Bakr/Rabī'ah.

760. The context implies the Banū Dhuhl of Shaybān/Bakr b. Wā'il, but see vol. XXII, 69, n. 282, of this translation where, in the account of the killing of Dhuhl b. al-Ḥārith at the hands of Khārijites in A.H. 76, the suggestion is made that they are Dhuhl b. Mu'āwiyah of Kindah.

761. That is, without asking them to make a contribution to their own ransom.

762. *Mulbidan*: Lane has "a man cleaving to the ground, and making himself inconspicuous", "a man cleaving to the ground by reason of poverty"; *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §199: "fra poco di certo lo vedrete qua."

763. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Abū Jurrah.

for the money, for the governors dependent on al-Baṣrah would bring the tribute from those districts[764] that were subordinate to it to Ibn 'Abbās, and it was he who would send it to 'Alī. Maṣqalah replied, "All right, but give me a few days." Then he went to 'Alī, who granted him some days but then asked him for the money. He brought him 200,000 but was powerless (to get the rest) and could do nothing about it.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-A'war—Dhuhl b. al-Ḥārith: Maṣqalah called me to his place of abode. His evening meal was set before him and we shared it, and then he said, "By God, the Commander of the Faithful is asking me for this money and I cannot give it to him." I answered, "By God, if you wanted, you could get it all in less than a week," but he said, "By God, I am not going to impose it upon my fellow tribesmen and I will not seek it from anyone else." Then he said, "Indeed, by God, if Ibn Hind (Mu'āwiyah) were seeking it from me, or Ibn 'Affān, they would cancel the debt. Did you not see Ibn 'Affān give al-Ash'ath 100,000 dirhams annually from the *kharāj* of Ādharbayjān?" I answered Maṣqalah, "This man ('Alī) will not see things that way. No, by God, he is not one who generously gives away something that you have taken." He was quiet for a while and I too remained silent,
[3441] and indeed, by God, just one night after this talk he absconded to Mu'āwiyah.

'Alī heard about that and said, "What is the matter with him, God confound him! He acted like a noble Arab [in ransoming the captives] but fled like a slave and was treacherous like an evildoer (*fājir*). By God, if he had stayed here and could not pay, we would not have done any more than put him under detention and then, if we had found that he had anything of value we would have taken it, but if we could not get any money we would have left him alone." 'Alī then went to Maṣqalah's house and destroyed and demolished it.

Maṣqalah's brother Nu'aym b. Hubayrah was a partisan (*shī'ī*) and sincere adviser of 'Alī. Maṣqalah sent one of the Christians of the Banū Taghlib,[765] whose name was Ḥulwān, to Nu'aym from Syria

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764. *Kuwar*, plural of *kūrah*, is a loan word in Arabic, perhaps from Greek *chōra*. The Arabs had taken over from the Sasamids the subdivision of the provinces into administrative areas call *kuwar*.

765. The Banū Taghlib, whose area was the Syrian desert south of Palmyra, had been significantly christianized in the period before Islam.

with a letter: "I have spoken to Mu'āwiyah about you and he has promised a position (*al-imārah*) for you and given grounds to hope for some honor (*al-karāmah*). Come to us immediately when my messenger reaches you, God willing." But Mālik b. Ka'b al-Arḥabī[766] seized the messenger and brought him to 'Alī, who took his letter and read it. He then cut off the hand of the Christian, who died.

Nu'aym wrote to his brother Maṣqalah:

Do not cast against me, may God guide you, an imputation
of your suspicions. I had nothing to do with Ḥulwān.
That one who coveted what he could obtain by greed
is dead, and do not let his death grieve you.[767]
What did you want in sending him, stupidly,
hoping to trip up a man who is not found sleeping?
You exposed him to 'Alī, who is a lion,
walking with a proud gait, one of the lions of Khaffān.[768] [3442]
You benefited from a good position under him,
defending Iraq and being called the best of Shaybān,
Until you rushed into something for which, secretly and openly,
you had expressed a dislike for those who took part.
If you had brought that which was due to the people, persevering
for the truth, you would have revived our quick and our dead.
But you have joined the people of Syria, seeking
the favor of Ibn Hind (Mu'āwiyah). That is a position that grieves us.
Today you regret your debt, repenting,
but what can you say? What has happened has happened.
All the clans together have come to hate you,
and God has never exalted any man in hatred.

When this reached Maṣqalah, he knew that his messenger was dead, and soon the men of Taghlib also learned of the death of their fellow tribesman, Ḥulwān. They went to Maṣqalah and said, "You sent our fellow and you caused his death. Either restore him to life, or pay blood money for him." He answered, "To restore him to life I cannot, but I will pay blood money for him," and he did so.

766. See n. 345, above.

767. Read *ḥānā* for *khānā* (see *Add, et emend.*; *SNB*, III, 146, reads *iḥzānā*).

768. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. (II, 456), says that this is a place close to al-Kūfah and a place of lions (*ma'sadah*).

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—his father: When 'Alī learned of what had befallen the Banū Nājiyah and the killing of their leader, he said,

> Perish his mother! How defective was his understanding and how bold he was against his Lord! Someone came to me once and said, "There are men among your companions whom I fear will separate from you. What do you think
> [3443] about them?" I replied, "I am not one to seize somebody merely on suspicion or punish merely on supposition. I will only fight him who opposes me, declares war on me, and manifests hostility toward me. And then I will not fight him until I have called on him to repent and offered him forgiveness. If he repents and returns to us, we accept that from him and he will be our brother. But if he insists on warring against us, we ask God's aid against him and struggle against him."
>
> The man who had addressed me kept away for some time, and then he came to me again and said, "I fear that 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī and Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn are stirring up dissension against you, for I heard them talking about you in such a way that, if you had heard it, you would not have left them alive or at liberty. Keep them in prison for ever." I said, "I ask your advice about them—what should I do?" He said, "I advise you to summon them and cut off their heads." But then I knew that he was neither pious nor wise and I said, "By God, I do not think you are pious or wise and useful in your advice. By God, if I had intended to kill them, you should have said, 'Fear God. Why do you think that killing them is lawful when they have not killed anybody, have not declared opposition to you, and have not departed from your obedience?' "

In this year Qutham b. al-'Abbās led the annual pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) on behalf of 'Alī (God have mercy on him). Aḥmad b. Thābit told me that from Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.[769] At that time Qutham was 'Alī's governor over Mecca. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās was over

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769. For Abū Ma'shar, whose *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'* is probably being cited here, see *EI*², s.v.; *GAS*, I, 291–92; for Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī, see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I/1, 44.

the Yemen and 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās over al-Baṣrah. There is a difference of opinion about who was 'Alī's governor in Khurāsān. Some say that it was Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbū'ī and some that it was Ibn Abzā.[770] Syria and Egypt were under Mu'āwiyah and his governors.

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770. For Khulayd, see p. 99 n. 404, above; the index to the Leiden edition identifies Ibn Abzā as 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abzā the *rāwī*.

[3444]

The Events of the Year 39

(MAY 29, 659–MAY 16, 660)

Mu'āwiyah Sends His Forces into 'Alī's Territories

He sent al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr[771] (according to the report of 'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—'Awānah) with 2,000 men to 'Ayn al-Tamr,[772] where Mālik b. Ka'b was on garrison duty[773] for 'Alī with 1,000 men. Mālik, however, had allowed his men to go to al-Kūfah, and when al-Nu'mān came against him he had only 100 left with him. Mālik, therefore, wrote to 'Alī telling him of the matter of al-Nu'mān and his party. 'Alī addressed the men and ordered them to set out for 'Ayn al-Tamr, but they were reluctant to do so and Mālik had to give battle to al-Nu'mān, who had 2,000 men, with only 100 of his own. Mālik ordered his men to fight with their backs

771. Son of a Medinese Companion of the Prophet, his father is said to have been killed at the conquest of 'Ayn al-Tamr (see *EI*[1], s.v.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 155).

772. In the desert west of the Euphrates, south of Hīt (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 65).

773. *Maslaḥatan*. Literally, "a place of arms," such as a *thaghr* (frontier), but also used to refer to individuals bearing weapons or occupying the *maslaḥa* (see *Gloss.*, s.v. *s-l-ḥ*; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

to the wall of the settlement, and he wrote to Mikhnaf b. Sulaym,[774] who was nearby, asking him to send reinforcements. Mālik b. Ka'b fought against al-Nu'mān's force with the band of men who were with him as fiercely as anyone could. Mikhnaf sent his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān to him with fifty men and, when they reached them, Mālik and his companions had broken the scabbards of their swords[775] and were on the verge of death. When the Syrians saw the new arrivals—it was evening—they thought that they were (significant) reinforcements for Mālik's men and took flight. Mālik pursued them and killed three of them, and the Syrians fled.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh al-Marwazī—his father—Sulaymān (b. Ṣāliḥ)—'Abdallāh—'Abdallāh b. Abī Mu'āwi- [3445]
yah—'Amr b. Ḥassān—a shaykh of the Banū Fazārah: Mu'āwiyah dispatched al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr with 2,000 men. They came to 'Ayn al-Tamr and attacked it. There was a governor of 'Alī there called the son of so-and-so al-Arḥabī, who had 300 men. He wrote to 'Alī asking for help, and 'Alī ordered the men to get ready to go to that governor. They were reluctant to do so, and 'Alī therefore ascended the *minbar*. I (the shaykh of the Banū Fazārah) went to him, but when I got there he had already made the declaration of faith and was saying, "Oh people of al-Kūfah, every time you hear about a troop[776] of Syrian horsemen coming against you, each man of you hides in his house and locks the door, like a lizard in his hole and a hyena in his lair. Whoever trusts in you is duped[777] and whoever draws you draws a useless lot.[778] You are not real men (*aḥrār*) when the summons (to appear in arms) is made nor trustworthy brothers with secrets. 'We belong to God and to Him we are returning.'[779] How I have been tested through you! You are blind ones who do not see, dumb ones who do not speak, and deaf ones who do not hear.[780] 'We belong to God and to Him we are returning.' "

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774. See p. 13, above for the presence at Ṣiffīn of this prominent Azdī forebear of Abū Mikhnaf.

775. That is, they had determined to fight to the death.

776. *Mansir*, literally, "beak (of a bird)," used to refer to an advance force of an army (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

777. Literally, "the one who is duped is he whom you have duped."

778. *Al-sahm al-akhyab*, an allusion to the game of chance called *maysir* (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *akhyab*).

779. Qur'ān 2:156.

780. See Qur'ān 2:18, which says that the deaf, dumb, and blind (spiritually) "do not return."

(The account of 'Awānah transmitted by al-Madā'inī continues.) And in this year Mu'āwiyah sent Sufyān b. 'Awf[781] with 6,000 men, telling him to go to Hīt, pass through (*qaṭa'a*) and raid it, and then move on to al-Anbār and al-Madā'in,[782] where he should fall on the forces there. He went to Hīt but found no one there, and then to al-Anbār where there was a garrison (*maslaḥah*) of 'Alī. There had been 500 men, but they had dispersed and only 100 remained. Sufyān fought them but 'Alī's men held firm in spite of their small
[3446] number. Then Sufyān's cavalry and infantry charged them together, and killed the commander of the garrison, Ashras b. Ḥassān al-Bakrī,[783] with thirty men. They carried off what they found in al-Anbār and the property of its people and returned to Mu'āwiyah.

'Alī heard about that and went out to Nukhaylah. The men said to him, "You can rely on us," but he said, "You are not adequate for me or for yourselves." He dispatched Sa'īd b. Qays[784] after Sufyān's men, and he went off in pursuit until he passed Hīt without catching up with them and then turned back.

In this year, too, Mu'āwiyah sent 'Abdallāh b. Mas'adah al-Fazārī[785] with 1,700 men to Taymā',[786] ordering him to extract the *ṣadaqah* from the bedouins whom he passed by and to kill any of them who refused to deliver the *ṣadaqah* of his wealth to him. Then he should go to Mecca, Medina, and the Ḥijāz to do the same. Many of his fellow tribesmen joined him.

When 'Alī heard about that, he sent al-Musayyab b. Najabah al-Fazārī,[787] who caught up with Ibn Mas'adah at Taymā'. They fought fiercely for the whole day until sunset. Al-Musayyab charged against Ibn Mas'adah and struck him three times, but without intending

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781. An Azdī prominent in the campaigns against the Byzantines (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

782. The itinerary would have involved moving down the Euphrates and then crossing to al-Madā'in on the Tigris at the point where the two rivers come closest to each other. The reports are intended to indicate that the Syrians could raid 'Alī's heartlands with impunity.

783. This seems to be his only appearance in Ṭabarī's work.

784. See n. 66, above.

785. Captured by a raiding party sent by the Prophet against the Banū Fazārah, he subsequently was prominent in Mu'āwiyah's campaigns against the Byzantines (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

786. In northwest Arabia (now in Saudi Arabia).

787. Subsequently killed with the Tawwābūn at 'Ayn al-Wardah (see vol. XX of this translation, pp. 80ff.).

to kill him and saying to him, "Flee, flee!" Ibn Mas'adah and most of those with him entered the castle while the remainder fled toward Syria.

The bedouins plundered the *ṣadaqah* camels[788] that were with Ibn Mas'adah, and al-Musayyab besieged him and his men for three days. Then he piled firewood against the gate and hurled fire upon it until it caught alight. When those inside sensed that they would be destroyed, they went aloft and appealed to al-Musayyab, "It is your own tribesmen!" and he had pity on them and was reluctant that they should perish. He gave orders for the fire to be extinguished. He said to his men, "Spies have come to me and told me that an army is approaching from Syria. Gather together in one place!" and Ibn Mas'adah and his men departed by night and escaped [3447]
to Syria. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shabīb[789] said to al-Musayyab, "Come and let us pursue them!" but he forbade that he should do that. Ibn Shabīb said to him, "You have cheated the Commander of the Faithful and played a trick regarding them."

In this year, too, Mu'āwiyah dispatched al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays,[790] telling him to traverse the region below Wāqiṣah[791] and attack every bedouin whom he came upon who recognized the authority of 'Alī. With him he sent 3,000 men. As he proceeded, he seized the property of the people and killed those bedouins whom he met. He passed by al-Tha'labiyyah[792] and attacked the garrisons (*masāliḥ*) of 'Alī and seized their goods. When he had got as far as al-Quṭquṭānah,[793] 'Amr b. 'Umays b. Mas'ūd[794] came with some horsemen of 'Alī, and his family going in front, intending to make the annual pilgrimage. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk attacked those who were with him and prevented him from going on. When 'Alī heard that, he dispatched Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī with 4,000 men, giving them fifty

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788. That is, those camels that had been taken from the bedouin in payment of the *ṣadaqah*.

789. Of the Banū Fazārah (see p. 163, above).

790. See n. 130, above.

791. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. (IV, 892). Al-Wāqiṣah and the two places mentioned subsequently are in Najd, on or near the road from Mecca to al-Kūfah. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk's route took him in the direction of al-Kūfah.

792. Ibid., I, 925.

793. Ibid., IV, 137.

794. Of the Banū Hudhayl (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.), this seems to be his only appearance in Ṭabarī's work.

dirhams each. He caught up with al-Ḍaḥḥāk at Tadmur[795] and killed nineteen of his men. Two of his own men were killed. Night prevented any further fighting and al-Ḍaḥḥāk and his men fled, while Ḥujr and his went back.

In this year, too, Mu'āwiyah himself set off toward the Tigris, but when he was in sight of it he withdrew and went back. Ibn Sa'd reported that from Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ibn Jurayj—Ibn Abī Mulaykah: In the year 39 (659–660) Mu'āwiyah was within sight of it. And there is a report to the same effect from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

There are differences of opinion about who led the pilgrimage
[3448] (*ḥajj*) ceremonies in this year. Some say that it was 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās on behalf of 'Alī, while some say that it was 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās. According to Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah, it is said that 'Alī sent 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās to be present at the pilgrimage festival (*mawsim*) and lead the prayers in 39, while Mu'āwiyah sent Yazīd b. Shajarah al-Rahāwī.[796] But (said Ibn Shabbah) Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madā'inī) claimed that that was wrong and that 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās was not present at the *mawsim* in any official position before the killing of 'Alī (peace be upon him). The one with whom Yazīd b. Shajarah contested the office was Qutham b. al-'Abbās. Eventually they settled their dispute by agreeing that Shaybah b. 'Uthmān[797] would lead the rituals, and consequently it was Shaybah who led the prayers in 39.

And similar to what I have been told on the authority of Abū Zayd (Ibn Shabbah) from Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madā'inī), is the report of Abū Ma'shar. I have that from Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

According to al-Wāqidī, in the year 39 'Alī sent 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās to be in charge of the *mawsim*, while Mu'āwiyah sent Yazīd

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795. That is, Palmyra.

796. His *nisbah* refers to the Banū Ruhā' of Madhḥij (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II index, s. v. Yazīd b. Šağara). He was subsequently active in the warfare against Byzantium, especially at sea, and is reported to have been killed in 58/677–78. In 116/734–35, however, there is a strange reference to him (or to someone of the same name), described as *sayyid ahl al-Sha'm*, as if he were still alive (see Ṭabarī, II, 1564 [= XXV, 103, of this translation]).

797. Shaybah is said to have acquired the office of control of the key of the Ka'bah in the time of the Prophet. For some comment on the traditions about him and his office, see Hawting, "'Sacred Offices,'" 62–84, esp. 65, n. 5.

b. Shajarah al-Rahāwī to hold (*aqāma*) the *ḥajj* for the people. When the two of them met in Mecca they contested the issue, each one refusing to surrender to the other. Finally they compromised on Shaybah b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥah.

'Alī's governors over the garrison towns in this year were those whom we have reported in 38, except that Ibn 'Abbās had left his position in al-Baṣrah in this year and had appointed Ziyād, called Ziyād the son of his father, over the finances (*kharāj*), and Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī over the judicial matters (*qaḍā'*).[798]

And in this year Ibn 'Abbās sent Ziyād, on the orders of 'Alī, to Fārs and Kirmān when he returned to al-Baṣrah from visiting 'Alī in al-Kūfah.

The Sending of Ziyād to Fārs [3449]

According to 'Umar (Ibn Shabbah)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī): After Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī was killed[799] and opposition against 'Alī grew, the people of Fārs and Kirmān[800] wished to avoid paying the *kharāj*,[801] and in every district the inhabitants seized power and expelled their governors.

According to 'Umar (Ibn Shabbah)—Abū al-Qāsim—Salamah b. 'Uthmān—'Alī b. Kathīr: 'Alī asked advice about whom he could appoint over Fārs when they refused to fulfill the duty of the *kharāj*. Jāriyah b. Qudāmah said to him, "Indeed I will point out to you, Commander of the Faithful, a man who is firm in opinion, knowledgeable in authority, and capable for what he has to do." 'Alī asked who that was and received the answer, "Ziyād." "Alright," said 'Alī, "It is his." He appointed him over Fārs and Kirmān and sent him with 4,000 men. He subjugated those lands and put them in order.

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798. See nn. 666, 488, above.

799. See pp. 165ff., above.

800. The province east of Fārs, bordered on the north by the desert and on the south by the Gulf (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VI and 299ff.).

801. According to the classical works of Muslim law. this is a tax raised from land, but in this early period it, like other fiscal terms, seems to be used rather generally (see *EI*², s.v.).

According to ʿUmar (Ibn Shabbah)—Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madāʾinī)—ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—al-Shaʿbī: When the people of the Jibāl[802] had rebelled, and those subject to the *kharāj* wished to avoid paying it and expelled Sahl b. Ḥunayf, ʿAlī's governor, from Fārs, Ibn ʿAbbās said to ʿAlī, "Leave Fārs to me." He came to al-Baṣrah and sent Ziyād to Fārs with a large force that he used to suppress the people of the region and make them fulfill their duty of *kharāj*.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Ayyūb b. Mūsā—a shaykh of the people of Iṣṭakhr[803]—his father: I remember being in Fārs while Ziyād was governor there and revolt had flared up. He ceaselessly used inducement and artifice so that they returned to the obedience that was due from them and to good order and there was no hostile attitude. And the people of Fārs used to say "We have not seen any conduct more like that of Kisrā Anūshirwān[804] than the conduct of this Arab for gentleness, ways of inducement, and understanding of what it is fitting."

[3450] When Ziyād came to Fārs, he sent to its leaders and made promises and gave cause to hope to those who helped him, but some he terrified and threatened. Thus he used some to fight others and suggested to some the weak spot of others. Some fled and some remained, and some of them killed others, and consequently Fārs came completely under his control, with no force or fighting against him there. He acted similarly in Kirmān and then went back to Fārs, where he went around the districts (*kuwar*) raising their expectations so that the people became peaceful and the region calm. He went to Iṣṭakhr, where he took up residence and fortified a castle there between Bayḍāʾ Iṣṭakhr and Iṣṭakhr,[805] which became known as Qalʿat Ziyād. He brought the wealth (of the province)

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802. Strictly al-Jibāl is the province east of Iraq and north of Khuzistān and Fārs (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map V, and 185ff.). The term may be used loosely here.

803. Just north of ancient Persepolis, it was probably the most important town in Fars at this time (see *EI*², s.v.).

804. Khusrow I Anoshirwan (Immortal Soul), ruled 530–579 C.E., was a Sasanid shah legendary for both his justice and his efficiency.

805. For the town called Bayḍāʾ (Bayzā in Persian), southwest of Iṣṭakhr, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VI, and 280.

there. Subsequently, Manṣūr al-Yashkurī fortified himself in it so that today it is known as Qal'at Manṣūr.[806]

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806. *Ann.*, A.H. 39 §4, identifies him as Manṣūr b. Jumhūr al-Yashkurī. But the famous Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, who was involved in politics at the end of the Umayyad period (and who was in Fārs at one point, involved in the movement of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah), is always referred to as Manṣūr b. Jumhūr al-Kalbī (he was of the Banū 'Āmir of Kalb). According to the indexes of the Leiden and Cairo editions, this is Ṭabarī's only reference to Manṣūr al-Yashkurī (Yashkur are a subtribe of the Bakr). It is possible that al-Kalbī has been deformed in the ms.

The Events of the Year 40

(MAY 17, 660–MAY 6, 661)

Mu'āwiyah Sends Busr b. Abī Arṭāt with 3,000 Fighting Men to the Ḥijāz

According to Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh al-Bakkā'ī[807]—'Awānah: After the appointment of the two arbitrators, Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān dispatched an army under Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, a man of the Banū
[3451] 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.[808] They came from Syria to Medina, whence 'Alī's governor at that time, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī,[809] fled to 'Alī at al-Kūfah, and Busr entered Medina.

Busr ascended the *minbar* of Medina, without having met any opposition and cried out, "Dīnār, Najjār, and Zurayq![810] My shaykh, my shaykh, with whom I was only yesterday—where is he now?"

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807. Al-Bakkā'ī (d. 183/799–800) is best known as the transmitter of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrah* to Ibn Hishām; presumably al-Madā'inī is still al-Ṭabarī's source for the following report.

808. Busr (see *EI*², s.v.) was a Companion of the Prophet; 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy were a branch of Quraysh.

809. See n. 523, above.

810. These are all subtribes of Khazraj of the Anṣār (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.vv. Dīnār b. Taimallāh, Naǧǧār b. Tha'laba, and Zuraiq b. 'Āmir).

(He was referring to 'Uthmān.) Then he said, "People of Medina! By God, if it were not for my charge from Mu'āwiyah, I would not leave any mature man alive (among you)," and then he extracted the oath of allegiance (to Mu'āwiyah) from them. He sent to the Banū Salimah, saying, "By God, you shall have no safe conduct with me, and I shall not accept your oath of allegiance, until you bring me Jābir b. 'Abdallāh."[811]

Jābir hurried to Umm Salamah,[812] the widow of the Prophet, and said to her, "What do you think? I am afraid that I shall be killed, but this oath of allegiance is not right." She said, "I think that you should give the oath of allegiance. I have told my son 'Umar b. Abī Salamah that he should give it, and also my son-in-law 'Abdallāh b. Zam'ah."[813] (Her daughter Zaynab, the daughter of Abū Salamah, was at that time married to 'Abdallāh b. Zam'ah.) So Jābir went to Busr and gave him the oath of allegiance.

Busr demolished some houses in Medina and then went on to Mecca. Abū Mūsā[814] was afraid that he would kill him, but Busr said to him, "I would not do that to a Companion of the Prophet," and let him go. Previously Abū Mūsā had written to the Yemen saying that horsemen sent from Mu'āwiyah would slay the people, would slay those who refused to accept the arbitration process (*ḥukūmah*).

Busr continued on to the Yemen, where 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās was governor on behalf of 'Alī. When 'Ubaydallāh heard of his approach, he fled to al-Kūfah, where he joined 'Alī, leaving behind [3452]
as his deputy over the Yemen 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī.[815] Busr came and killed him together with his son. He also came across the baggage train of 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās, with which were two small sons of the latter. He slaughtered them both. Some

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811. For the Banū Salimah b. Sa'd of Khazraj, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; for the Companion Jābir b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr of the Banū Salimah, see ibid., s.v. Gābir.

812. For Umm Salamah, Hind bint Abī Umayyah of Makhzūm/Quraysh, see Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 60.

813. 'Umar was Umm Salamah's son from her first husband, Abū Salamah of Makhzūm; 'Abdallāh b. Zam'ah, of the Banū Asad of Quraysh, is described as a *sharīf* of Quraysh who transmitted from the Prophet and married Zaynab the daughter of Abū Salamah and Umm Salamah (see Zubayrī, *Kitāb nasab Quraysh*, 222).

814. That is, the "arbitrator" who had declared 'Alī deposed (see p. 82ff., above).

815. A leader of Bal-Ḥārith of Madhḥij (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr).

say that he found the two sons of 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās with a bedouin of Banū Kinānah. When he wished to slay them, the Kinānī asked, "Why are you going to kill these two when they have done no wrong? If you are going to kill them, then kill me!" Busr replied, "I will!" and he began by killing the Kinānī and then he killed them. Then he went back to Syria. It is also reported that the Kinānī fought to protect the two children until he was himself killed. One of the children whom Busr killed was called 'Abd al-Raḥmān and the other Qutham.[816]

In the course of that expedition Busr killed a large number of the partisans (*shī'ah*) of 'Alī in the Yemen. 'Alī heard the news of what he was doing and sent 2,000 men under Jāriyah b. Qudāmah and another 2,000 under Wahb b. Mas'ūd.[817] Jāriyah came to Najrān,[818] where he set fire to some properties and took some of the partisans of 'Uthmān and killed them. Busr and his men fled from him and Jāriyah followed them as far as Mecca, where he told the Meccans to give him the oath of allegiance (for 'Alī), but they replied, "The Commander of the Faithful is dead,[819] so on whose behalf should we give the oath of allegiance?" He said, "On behalf of him to whom the companions of 'Alī have given it." They were reluctant, but eventually they did give it.[820]

Jāriyah then went to Medina, where Abū Hurayrah[821] was leading the people in the prayers. Abū Hurayrah fled from him and Jāriyah said, "By God, if I had taken Abū Sinnawr,[822] I would have cut off his head." He then told the Medinans, "Give the oath of allegiance

816. There are variant accounts that provide different names for the boys (Zubayrī, *Kitāb nasab Quraysh*, 264).

817. For Jāriyah, see n. 499, above; this appears to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Wahb b. Mas'ūd, who is called al-Khath'amī in Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh* II, 232–33.

818. A town in northern Yemen (now in Saudi Arabia), famous as a center of Christianity before Islam.

819. That is, 'Alī had been killed while Jāriyah was engaged in the expedition.

820. It is not clear whether Jāriyah demanded that they gave him the oath on behalf of an unnamed individual, or whether they all knew the one to whom 'Alī's companions had given allegiance. In the next paragraph, referring to Medina, 'Alī's successor is named.

821. A Companion of the Prophet, famous as a transmitter of *ḥadīth*. He appears to have been friendly with the Umayyads, for it is reported that both Marwān and Mu'āwiyah used him as a deputy governor of Medina. (See *EI*², s.v.).

822. A derogatory reference to Abū Hurayrah: *sinnawr* means "cat," as does *hirr*, of which *hurayrah* is a diminutive.

to al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī,"[823] and they did so. He remained there for a day, then departed, returning to al-Kūfah, while Abū Hurayrah returned and again led the Medinans in the prayers.

In this year (40/660–61), according to reports, there was the truce between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah after correspondence had passed [3453] between them (it would prolong our work unduly to give the texts) about the cessation of hostilities; it was specified that 'Alī should have Iraq and Mu'āwiyah Syria, neither of them encroaching on the area under the authority of the other with an army, an attack, or a raid.

According to Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh [al-Bakkā'ī]—Abū Isḥāq: When neither of the two parties would acknowledge obedience to the other, Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Alī, "If you wish, you may have Iraq while I have Syria. Thus the sword shall be averted from this community and the blood of the Muslims shall not be shed." 'Alī consented, and the two of them agreed on it. Consequently Mu'āwiyah remained in Syria with his forces, levying taxes from it and its surrounding area, while 'Alī levied taxes from Iraq and distributed the income among his forces.

In this year 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās left al-Baṣrah and went to Mecca, according to most of the specialists in historical traditions (*ahl al-siyar*). Some of them, however, denied that and claimed that he continued at Baṣrah, as governor on behalf of the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī (peace be upon him), until 'Alī was killed and al-Ḥasan had made peace with Mu'āwiyah—it was then that he departed for Mecca.

The Circumstances of Ibn 'Abbās' Going to Mecca and Leaving Iraq

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—a group of narrators—Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. (Abī) Rāshid[824]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd Abū al-Kunūd: 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās encountered Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī, who said, "If you were an animal, you would be a camel; if you were a herdsman, you would not be able to control (your flock

823. That is, 'Alī's elder son from Fāṭimah.

824. Comparison with other sources indicates that Abī should be inserted.

at) pasture and would not know how to manage them wisely on the move."[825]

Abū al-Aswad consequently wrote to 'Alī: "God has made you a ruler trusted by his subjects and a pastor who takes responsibility
[3454] for his flock. We have tried you and found you full of integrity and a sincere adviser to your flock. You give them their booty (*fay'*) in abundance, you abstain from (seizing) their wordly goods (*dunyā*), you do not devour their wealth, and you do not take bribes in their government (*aḥkām*). Your cousin, however, has devoured what is under his authority without your knowledge, and I cannot allow that to be kept from you. So look into what is going on here, may God have mercy on you, and write to me telling me your views about what you want me to do for you. Salutations."

'Alī wrote back in reply: "To act like you have done is to advise the imam and the community sincerely, to render trustworthy service, and to guide to the truth. I have written to your companion concerning the behavior about which you have written to me, but I have not told him that it was you who wrote to me. You must continue to inform me of what happens in your presence if it is beneficial to the community to look into it, for you are competent to do that and you have an obligatory duty to do so. Peace be with you."

'Alī then wrote about that to Ibn 'Abbās, who replied, "What you have heard is false. What I have under my authority I control in an orderly and careful way. Do not believe these suspicions. Salutations." 'Alī wrote back, "Tell me what *jizyah*[826] you have taken, whence you have taken it, and where you have deposited it." Ibn 'Abbās answered, "I understand your concern at the seizures that you have heard I have made of the wealth of men this territory,

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825. Grammatically, it is not clear who said the words to whom, but they seem to be intended as a criticism of the governorship of Ibn 'Abbās, and Abū al-Aswad must then be the speaker. In view of the following details and Abū al-Aswad's complaint about Ibn 'Abbās to 'Alī, it may be the ability of the camel to consume large amounts of food and water that prompts the comparison. *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §224, suggests emending the text in accordance with the parallel in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (= *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §222a). The Arabic is not given, but the last phrase is translated "nè sapresti governale bene durante l'inverno." The parallel passage in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, IV, 354, omits the last phrase entirely.

826. *Jizyah* here seems to have the more general meaning of "tax"; see n. 755, above.

so send anyone whom you wish to your province and I will make way for him. Salutations."

Ibn 'Abbās then summoned his maternal uncles of the Banū Hilāl b. 'Āmir,[827] and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilālī and 'Abdallāh b. Razīn b. Abī 'Amr al-Hilālī came to him. Then all of Qays joined with him, and he carried away a considerable amount of property.

According to Abū Zayd (Ibn Shabbah)—Abū 'Ubaydah:[828] These were monies and provisions that had been collected for the maintenance (*arzāq*) of the fighting men, and Ibn 'Abbās took away with him as much as he had collected.[829] [3455]

All of the "fifths"[830] sent after him and caught him up at al-Ṭaff,[831] where they confronted him, intending to get the wealth. But Qays[832] (opposed them) and said, "By God, you will not get it so long as any of us remains alive."[833] Ṣabrah b. Shaymān al-Ḥuddānī[834] said, "Band of Azd, by God, Qays are our brothers in Islam, our neighbors in dwelling place, and our helpers against the enemy. If your share of this money that has been taken from you were given back to you, it would not amount to much, and tomorrow Qays (and their support) will be better for you than money." Azd responded, "So what do you think?" and Ṣabrah said, "Turn away from them and let them go." They did that and turned away, and the Banū Bakr and 'Abd al-Qays said, "What an excellent opinion was that ex-

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827. That is, the Banū Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah of Qays, the tribe of Lubābah Umm al-Faḍl, the mother of 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās (see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, 262). This is the only appearance of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilālī and 'Abdallāh b. Razīn al-Hilālī in Ṭabarī's work.

828. For Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā, a Baṣran scholar and traditionist who died 209/824–25, see *EI²*, s.v.

829. *Fa-ḥamala ma'ahu miqdāra mā ijtama'a lahu*; *Ann.*, 38 A.H. §224, has "quello che spettava a lui" ("that which was his due"). *Arzāq* is the plural of *rizq* (a loan word from Persian), which usually indicates the food and provisions allocated to the fighting men along with their pay (*'aṭā'*—see n. 653, above). Presumably, when this was in government hands, before it was allocated to the soldiers, some of it must have been in the form of cash. This interpolation by Ibn Shabbah from Abū 'Ubaydah is a comment on Abū Mikhnaf's account, which now resumes.

830. That is, the five divisions into which the various tribal fragments settled in al-Baṣrah were grouped (see Pellat, *Milieu Baṣrien*, 23–24).

831. Al-Ṭaff is here probably used in a general sense and does not refer to the specific place, often also called by the same name, where al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was killed (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. [III, 539]).

832. That is, the tribal group to which Ibn 'Abbās' maternal relatives belonged.

833. Literally, "while there remains among us a blinking eye."

834. See n. 671, above.

pressed by Ṣabrah to his tribesmen," and they too withdrew. The Banū Tamīm, however said, "By God, we will not separate from them. We will fight them for it," but al-Aḥnaf [b. Qays] said to them, "They who are further than you in kinship from them have refrained from fighting them."[835] Still they insisted, "By God, we will fight them," and al-Aḥnaf said, "In that case I will not aid you against them," and he withdrew from them.

They made Ibn al-Mujjā'ah[836] of Banū Tamīm their chief, therefore, and fought with Qays. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk [b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilālī] attacked Ibn al-Mujjā'ah and stabbed him, and 'Abdallāh b. Razīn grabbed him around the neck and they both fell to the ground struggling. There were many wounded, but nobody was killed in the fighting. The "fifths" then said, "We have achieved nothing. We have (merely) withdrawn from them and left them fighting each other." And they separated the two parties.[837] They said to the Banū Tamīm, "We are more generous in spirit than you because we have left this money to your cousins while you are fighting them for it. Your men have attacked and been successfully resisted, so let your opponents go and, if you wish, go back yourselves." And Ibn 'Abbās went on with about twenty men and reached Mecca.

According to Abū Zayd (Ibn Shabbah): Abū 'Ubaydah claimed (although I did not hear it from him) that Ibn 'Abbās did not leave
[3456] al-Baṣrah until 'Alī had been killed. (Then) he left and joined al-Ḥasan and witnessed the peace agreement between him and Mu'āwiyah. He returned to al-Baṣrah where his things were and carried them away together with a small amount of property from the treasury, saying, "These are my *arzāq*."

Abū Zayd said that he reported that to Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madā'inī), who denied it and claimed that Ibn 'Abbās was in Mecca when 'Alī was killed and that it was 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās who witnessed the peace treaty between al-Ḥasan and Mu'āwiyah.

In this year 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (peace be upon him) was killed, but there are different opinions about the date of his death. According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—[anonymous]—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar:

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835. Tamīm and Qays were both counted to Muḍar.
836. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to this Ibn al-Mujjā'ah.
837. *Ḍarabū wujūh ba'ḍihim 'an ba'ḍin.*

'Alī was killed in the month of Ramaḍān, on a Friday when seventeen days of it had elapsed, in the year 40. Al-Wāqidī reported similarly, as al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad) told me from Ibn Sa'd from al-Wāqidī. But Abū Zayd (Ibn Shabbah) told me that according to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī), 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed in al-Kūfah on a Friday when eleven (it is also said thirteen) days remained of Ramaḍān in the year 40. (It has also been said that it was in Rabī' II of the year 40.)[838]

The Circumstances of the Murder and Death of 'Alī

According to Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī—'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarrānī Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Ismā'īl b. Rāshid:[839] In the story about Ibn Muljam and his companions it is told that Ibn Muljam, al-Burak b. 'Abdallāh, and 'Amr b. Bakr al-Tamīmī[840] met and discussed the way things were. They decried their governors and talked [3457] about the people killed at the canal, asking for God's mercy upon them. They said, "We have achieved nothing by surviving them, our brethren who were summoners of the people to the worship of their Lord and who did 'not fear, for the cause of God, the reproach of anyone.'[841] What if we 'sell our souls'[842] and go to the imāms of error, seek to kill them, deliver the land from them, and thus achieve vengeance for our brethren?"

838. The days of the weeks and the dates given do not tally. In the year A.H. 40, the 15th of Ramaḍān should have been a Friday. 17 Ramaḍān 40 = Sunday 24 January 661. Rabī' II 40 = August–September 660. For the following section, see *EI*², s.v. Ibn Muldjam, where extensive references to further sources are provided.

839. For Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī (d. 258/871–72), see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXIX, 98–100. The Cairo edition calls him Mūsā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

840. For variants in the *ism* and *nisbah* of Ibn Muljam, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdarraḥmān b. Mulǧam; for the Banū Murād b. Mālik of Madhḥij, see ibid., s.v.; al-Burak is said to have belonged to the Banū Ṣuraym of Tamīm, 'Amr to the Banū Sa'd of Tamīm.

841. See Qur'ān 5:54.

842. *Fa-law sharaynā anfusanā*. It is said that the early Khawārij called themselves *shurāt* because of their willingness to "sell" their souls for the cause of God. See Qur'ān 9:111: "God has bought (*ishtarā*) from the Believers their souls and their wealth."

Ibn Muljam, who was one of the men of Egypt, said, "I will take care of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib for you!" Al-Burak b. 'Abdallāh said, "I will take care of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān." And 'Amr b. Bakr said, "I will take care of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ." They made a joint covenant and agreement by God, "No man of us shall turn away from the one against whom he has been sent until he kills him or himself dies first." They took their swords and put poison on them and agreed that when seventeen days had elapsed of Ramaḍān, each of them would make an attempt on the man against whom he had been sent.

Each of them went to the town in which was the one whom he sought. Ibn Muljam al-Murādī, who was counted to Kindah,[843] joined his clansmen in al-Kūfah, but kept his business from them, being wary lest they reveal anything of it. One day he saw several men of Taym al-Ribāb,[844] ten of whom 'Alī had killed at the canal, and they were remembering their slain. On the same day he met a woman of Taym al-Ribāb called Qaṭāmi bint al-Shijnah, whose father and brother 'Alī had killed at the canal. She was of surpassing beauty and when he saw her she confused his mind and he forgot what he was about. He asked to marry her but she said, "I will not marry you until you give me what I want."[845] He asked, "What will satisfy you?" and she answered, "Three thousand dirhams, a slave,
[3458] a singing girl, and the killing of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib."

He said, "That is a fitting dowry for you, but as for the killing of 'Alī, I would not have thought that you would mention it to me, while wanting me."[846] She said, "Indeed yes. Look out for when he is off his guard and if you get him you will have satisfied yourself and myself, and life with me will be good for you. If you are killed, then what is with God is better than this world and its adornments and those of its people."[847] He replied, "By God, it was the very

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843. Ibn Sa'd III/1, 23, says that he was a *ḥalīf* of the Banū Jabalah of Kindah (for Jabalah b. 'Adī of Kindah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

844. Ribāb was a confederation that included the Banū Taym b. 'Abd Manāt (hence known as Taym al-Ribāb) and various others, allied with the Banū Sa'd of Tamīm (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ribāb).

845. *Ḥattā tashfiya lī*; for *shafā* in the sense of "to satisfy," see *Gloss.*, s.v.

846. *Lā arāki (urāki!) dhakartihi lī wa-anti turīdīnī*; see Wright, *Grammar*, II, 32b, for *wa* with following subjunctive.

847. See Qur'ān 28:60.

killing of 'Alī that brought me to this town. What you ask for is yours." She said, "I will seek out for you someone who will aid you and support you in your task." She sent to a man of her tribe of Taym al-Ribāb who was called Wardān and spoke with him, and he agreed.

Ibn Muljam went to a man of the Banū Ashja'[848] called Shabīb b. Bajarah and asked him, "Would you like honor in this world and the next?" He replied, "How?" and Ibn Muljam said, "The killing of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib." "May your mother be bereaved of you!"[849] he answered, " 'Then you would have done something grave.'[850] How will you be able to get to him?" Ibn Muljam said, "I shall lay in wait for him in the mosque and when he comes out for the morning prayer we shall attack him and kill him. If we escape, we shall have satisfied ourselves and attained our revenge. If we are killed, then what is with God is better than this world and what is in it."[851] Shabīb said, "Woe to you! If it were anyone other than 'Alī, it would be a matter of less importance to me. But you know how much he has been tested in Islam and his precedence in following the Prophet. I do not think I could find it in me to be happy at his killing." Ibn Muljam said, "Do you not know that he killed the people of the canal, the righteous servants of God!" "Indeed yes," he replied. "Then let us kill him for those of our brethren whom he killed!" And Shabīb assented.

They went to Qaṭāmi who was in the great mosque practising "withdrawal."[852] They said to her, "We have agreed to kill 'Alī," and she said, "When you want to do that, come to me." Then Ibn Muljam went back to her on the night before the Friday in the [3459]
morning of which 'Alī was killed in the year 40, and he said to her, "This is the night when I promised my two companions that each one of us would kill his man." She called for silk to be brought to

848. The Banū Ashja' b. Rayth of Ghaṭafān.

849. *Thakilatka ummuka*; the expression is understood not as an insult, but as an expression of surprise or concern (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *umm*).

850. See Qur'ān 19:89.

851. See Qur'ān 28:60.

852. *Mu'takifah*, a term that would usually indicate the religious practice of *i'tikāf*, a sort of retreat (usually in a mosque) associated especially with Ramaḍān (see *EI*², s.v. I'tikāf).

them and bound it around them[853] and they took their swords and sat before the door out of which 'Alī would come. When he appeared, Shabīb struck at him with his sword but it hit the door post or the arch; Ibn Muljam struck him on the top of his head with his sword.

Wardān fled and went into his house, where one of his half-brothers came in upon him. Wardān was unwinding the silk from his breast and the visitor asked about it and the sword. Wardān told him what had happened. The visitor went away, and then came back with his sword and set about Wardān and killed him.

Shabīb set off toward the gates of Kindah[854] while it was still dark just before dawn, but the cry went up and a man of Ḥaḍramawt called 'Uwaymir[855] came upon him. Shabīb had his sword in his hand but 'Uwaymir seized it from him and attacked him. When he saw that the people had come seeking Shabīb whose sword he had in his own hand, however, 'Uwaymir was afraid for his own life and let Shabīb go. He escaped in the confusion.

They fell on Ibn Muljam and seized him, but not before a man of the Banū Hamdān with the *kunyah* of Abū Admā' had taken his sword, struck at his leg, and felled him.

'Alī remained where he had fallen[856] and had Ja'dah b. Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb[857] stand up behind him and lead the morning prayer. Then 'Alī said, "Bring him to me," and Ibn Muljam was brought in. 'Alī said, "Enemy of God, did I not do good to you?" "Yes, indeed," he answered. "Then what led you to do this?" "I sharpened my sword for forty mornings and I asked God to kill the worst of His creatures

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853. The significance of this ritual is not evident.

854. Referred to in the singular (*bāb Kindah*) in a report about the entry of the Qarāmiṭah into al-Kūfah (see Ṭabarī, III, 2261 [= vol. XXXVIII, 163, of this translation]).

855. Ḥaḍramawt here indicates tribal rather than geographical origin. According to the Muslim genealogical system, Ḥaḍramawt (possibly to be identified with the Hazarmaveth of Genesis, 10:26), after whom the region of southwest Arabia is named, was one of the earliest ancestors of the southern descent group. Ḥaḍramawt are related to, but distinct from, Ḥimyar and Kindah (Ibn al-Kalbī has no entry for Ḥaḍramawt).

856. *Ta'akhkhara*.

857. See p. 99 and n. 401, above.

with it," he said. "Alī replied, "But I think that you must be slain with it, for you must be one of the worst of His creatures." [3460]

They say that, before he struck 'Alī, while he was sitting among Bakr b. Wā'il, Ibn Muljam saw the bier of Abjar b. Jābir al-'Ijlī, father of Ḥajjār, passing.[858] Abjar was a Christian and there were a number of Christians round about it and some Muslims[859] walking at one side with Ḥajjār because of his status among them. Among them was Shaqīq b. Thawr.[860] Ibn Muljam asked who they were and was told, and he began to compose:

If Ḥajjār b. Abjar is (really) a Muslim,
the bier of Abjar would have been kept away from him;
But if Ḥajjār b. Abjar is an infidel,
then this sort of infidelity is not inappropriate.[861]
Do you accept this—that a priest[862] and a Muslim are
together before a bier? Shameful spectacle!
If it were not for what I intend to do, I would scatter their company
with a sword polished, burnished, shining, and drawn from its scabbard.
But my intention with that (sword) is as an instrument of access
to God or this man ('Alī). Take that or leave it.

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858. See Ibn al-Kalbī, s.vv. Abǧar b. Ǧābir and Ḥaǧǧār b. Abǧar for these two leaders of the Banū 'Ijl of Bakr b. Wā'il. The Christian father was active in pre-Islamic times and the son, in events in al-Kūfah down to the fall of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. The following verses seem to imply that the son has accepted Islam by this time, for Ibn Muljam's objection is to the presence of a Muslim at the funeral of (i.e., in the presence of the corpse of) a non-Muslim. The reasons for this objection are not made clear. In general and in practice Muslims are respectful toward, and may participate in, the funerals of non-Muslims (see *EI*², s.v. Djanāza; T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. Burial). In *ḥadīth*, however, it may be possible to see traces of a difference of opinion on this issue. It is usually held that, in contrast with Judaism, Islam does not regard the presence of a corpse as polluting (Wensinck, " Die Entstehung," 63), but there seems to be uneasiness about the performance of prayer at tombs or in graveyards. It may be significant that the *ḥadīth* usually cited to justify the view that the human corpse is not destructive of ritual purity in Islam in fact says that *the Muslim* (sometimes Mu'min) does not pollute, whether alive or dead (see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v. najisa).

859. *Unās*, here indicating Muslims rather than simply "people."

860. See p. 59 and n. 247, above.

861. Leiden has *kufūr* (infidelity), Cairo *kafūr* (infidel).

862. Following *Ann.*, A.H. 40 §32, in reading *qass* for *qays*.

It is reported that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah[863] said: By God, I was performing the prayer ritual in the great mosque on that night when 'Alī was stabbed. I was among a large number of men of the garrison town who were praying near the door. They were continuously standing, bowing, and prostrating without wearying, from the beginning of the night until the end when 'Ali came out for the morning prayer. He began to call out, "People! Prayer, prayer!" but I do not know whether he had come through the door and said these words, or not. I noticed something glitter and I heard, "Authority (*al-ḥukm*) belongs to God, 'Alī, not to you or your accomplices'!" and I saw a sword and then a second. I heard 'Alī say, "Do not let him escape," and the people rushed on the attacker from every side. I remained there until Ibn Muljam was taken and led in to 'Alī.
[3461] I, too, went in among those who did, and I heard 'Alī saying, "A life for a life. If I die, kill him as he killed me. If I live, I will consider what to do."

It is reported that the men rushed in fear to al-Ḥasan on account of what had happened regarding 'Alī. While they were with him (and Ibn Muljam was shackled before him), Umm Kulthūm the daughter of 'Alī, weeping, called to Ibn Muljam, "Enemy of God, there is no harm to my father, may God dishonor you!" He replied, "Then for whom do you weep? By God, I bought my sword for a thousand dirhams and I have spent another thousand on poisoning it. If this blow had fallen upon all the people of this town, not one of them would have survived it."

It is reported that Jundab b. 'Abdallāh[864] went in to 'Alī and asked him, "Commander of the Faithful, if we have lost you—and may we not—we will give the oath of allegiance to al-Ḥasan." 'Alī said, "I do not order you to do so, and neither do I forbid it. You people are best fitted to see." Jundab repeated to him what he had said.[865]

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863. One of the themes of the following is the relative authority of the three sons of 'Alī—al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (his sons by Fāṭimah) and Muḥammad (his son from the Ḥanafī woman).

864. Of Azd (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ǧundab b. 'Abdallāh); for his presence at Ṣiffīn and reports from him about events there, see pp. 11, 89, above.

865. This report would be relevant for disputes about the imamate between Sunnīs and Shī'īs and between different Shī'ī groups. According to the Shī'ī doctrine of *naṣṣ*, an imam was legitimate only if he had been nominated by his predecessor during his lifetime, and each imam made known who his successor should be. See further Moojen Momen, *An Introduction to Shī'ī Islam*, index, s.v. (The *EI*² article s.v. Naṣṣ is concerned mainly with a different doctrine.)

'Alī called Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and said, "I commend to you both fear of God and that you do not seek this world even if it seeks you. Do not weep for anything that is taken away from you, speak the truth, show compassion for the orphan, succor those who are anxious, act on behalf of the foolish,[866] be enemies to the wrongdoer and helpers to the wronged, act according to the Book, and let no man's censure affect you while you work for God." Then he turned to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah and said, "Have you committed to heart what I have commended to your brothers?" "Yes," he replied. 'Alī said, "And I commend the same to you and also reverence for your two brothers to whom you owe a great duty. Follow their commands and do not decide any matter without them." Then he said to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, "And I commend him to you two for he is your brother and your father's son, and you know that your father loved him."

He said to al-Ḥasan,

> I commend to you, my son, fear of God, the holding of prayer at its appointed times, the payment of the *zakāt* on its due date,[867] and a scrupulousness in performing ritual ablution, for there is no prayer without purification and the prayer of one who holds back the *zakāt* is not accepted.[868] And I commend to you the pardoning of sin, the suppression of anger, observance of the ties of relationship, maturity in the face of coarseness (*al-ḥilm 'inda al-jahl*), acquiring knowledge of religion (*al-tafaqquh fī al-dīn*), firmness in authority, frequent mindfulness of the Qur'ān, fulfilment of the duties of hospitality (*jiwār*), commanding the good and forbidding the evil,[869] and keeping clear of immorality (*al-fawāḥish*). [3462]

When death came to 'Alī he made his testament as follows:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, this is the testament of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He testifies that

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866. *Wa'ṣna'ā li al-akhraq*; Cairo has *lil-ākhirah*.

867. *Iqām al-ṣalāt li-waqtihā wa-ītā' al-zakāt 'inda maḥillihā*; see Qur'ān 21:73, 24:37. For the *zakāt*, see *EI*[1], s.v.; and n. 739, above.

868. In the traditions about the wars of the Riddah, apostasy from Islam is signaled by the refusal to perform the *ṣalāt* and pay the *zakāt*.

869. See n. 400.

there is no god but God alone "without partner"[870] and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger "whom He sent with right guidance and the religion of truth to make it triumphant over every other even though the polytheists abhor it."[871] "My prayer and my ritual (*nusukī*), my life and my death, belong to God, the Lord of the worlds, Who has no partner. Thus I was commanded and I am one of those who submit (*al-muslimīn*)."[872] I commend to you, Ḥasan, and all of my offspring and family, the fear of God your Lord. "Die only as Muslims and hold fast together to the rope of God, not separating."[873] I heard Abū al-Qāsim[874] saying, "The restoration of unity is better than all your prayer and fasting."[875]

Look to your relatives and unite them, that God may make easy for you the reckoning. Fear God, fear God with regard to the orphans, and neither restrain their entreaties nor let them be lost while in your care.[876] Fear God, fear God with regard to those who have a right to your protection and hospitality (*jīrānukum*), for they are the commen-

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870. Qur'ān 6:163.

871. See Qur'ān 9:33; 61:9.

872. Qur'ān, 6:162–63, but note that *min al-muslimīn* replaces the Qur'ānic *awwalu al-muslimīn*.

873. Qur'ān 3:102–3.

874. That is, the Prophet Muḥammad.

875. See al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. al-Qiyāmah*, *bāb* 56.

876. (?) *Allāha Allāha fī al-aytām fa-lā tu'annū afwāhahum wa-lā yaḍī'unna bi-ḥaḍratikum*; literally, "do not restrain their mouths and do not cause them to be lost/neglect them in your presence." For *tu'annū* only the first *ḍammah* is indicated in the text—there are no other vowels and no *shaddah*. See, however, *Gloss.*, s.v. '-*n*-*y*, which indicates the *shaddah* and suggests "ne cohibeatis vocem eorum flagitantium." Presumably the suggested reading is the jussive of '-*n*-*w*, form II, although a similar sense could be obtained with '-*n*-*n*, form IV, jussive. *Gloss.* refers to Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. '-*n*-*w*, form II, which cites *TA* for a saying of 'Alī at Ṣiffīn including the expression '*annū bi al-aṣwāt*, which Lane interprets as a prohibition of raising a confused and unintelligible clamor. (Cf. the reading at Ṭabarī, I, 3282–83: *wa-ghuḍḍū al-abṣār wa-akhfiḍū al-aṣwāt.*) *SNB*, XVII, 5, reads *lā tughibbū* (but notes a variant *lā tughayyirū*) and *lā tuḍayyi'ū*, interpreting the former as an injunction not to cause them to starve and the latter as an injunction not to abandon them. *Afwāh*, literally, "mouths," might be a metonym for eating or for speaking. *Ann.*, A.H. 40 §33, uncharacteristically avoids the problem by resorting to the briefest paraphrase of the whole passage.

dation of your Prophet, who never ceased to commend them so that we thought he would include them as heirs.[877]

Fear God, fear God with regard to the Qur'ān and do not allow anyone to do more than you in acting in accordance with it. Fear God, fear God with regard to the prayer, for it is the pillar of your religion. Fear God, fear God with regard to the house of your Lord[878] and do not leave it as long as you live for, if it is abandoned, there will never be another to be compared with it.[879] Fear God, fear God with regard to *jihād* in the path of God with your property and your lives. Fear God, fear God with regard to the *zakāt*, for it quenches the anger of the Lord. Fear God, fear God with regard to the protection (*dhimmah*) granted by your Prophet and do not allow the *dhimmī*[880] to be oppressed among you. Fear God, fear God with regard to the Companions of your Prophet, for the Messenger of God commended them to us. Fear God, fear God with regard to the poor and the destitute and give them a share in your livelihood. Fear God, fear God with regard to what your right hands possess.[881] Observe the prayer always! [3463]

Do not fear before God the blame of any man[882]—He is sufficent protector for you against anyone who has designs upon you and oppresses you. "Speak good to the people"[883] as God has commanded you and do not abandon the commanding of the good and the forbidding of the evil, so that the worst ones among you obtain power: then you will call but no answer will be given to you. You must pursue mutual harmony and generosity, avoiding mutual opposition, sep-

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877. That is, the Prophet emphasized the duty of a man to his *jīrān* (see Qur'ān 4:36 for the command of kindness to the *jār*) so strongly that it was thought he would entitle them to a share in the part of the inheritance that is apportioned among the relatives of the dead man. On the rules of inheritance in Islam, see *EI*², s.v. Mīrāth, and *EI*¹, s.v. Waṣiyya.

878. That is, the sanctuary at Mecca.

879. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *n-ẓ-r*, form III, which suggests that *bihi ghayruhu* is to be understood after *lam yunāẓar*.

880. For the *ahl al-dhimmah*, the tolerated and protected non-Muslims, see *EI*², s.v. Dhimma.

881. That is, your slaves; the phrase is of frequent Quranic occurrence.

882. See Qur'ān 5:54.

883. Qur'ān 2:83.

aration, and fragmentation. "Help one another in piety and fear of God but not in sin and enmity to Him. Fear God for His retribution is mighty."[884] May God preserve you as members of a family and your Prophet as one of you. I entrust you to God and I bid you farewell, and the mercy of God be upon you.

He (may God be pleased with him) spoke no more before he died except to say that there is no god but God. He died in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 40. His two sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn
[3464] washed his body, together with ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar.[885] He was dressed for burial in three robes without a *qamīṣ*,[886] and al-Ḥasan made nine *takbīrahs*[887] over him.

Then al-Ḥasan assumed authority for six months. ʿAlī had forbidden him to inflict mutilation for his murder.[888] He had said, "Oh Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib,[889] let me not find you plunging into the blood of the Muslims saying, 'The Commander of the Faithful has been killed! The Commander of the Faithful has been killed!' No one shall be killed except my killer. Wait and see, Ḥasan. If I die from this blow of his, then inflict on him blow for blow. But do not inflict mutilation on the man, for I heard the Messenger of God say, 'Avoid mutilation, even on a vicious dog.' "[890]

When ʿAlī (peace be upon him) died, al-Ḥasan sent to Ibn Muljam, who said to him: "Will you let me put something to you? By God, I never made a promise to God that I did not fulfill. I made God a promise by the *ḥaṭīm*[891] that I would kill ʿAli and Muʿāwiyah or die. If you wish, release me so that I may get at Muʿāwiyah and,

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884. Qur'ān 5:2.

885. The son of ʿAlī's brother.

886. For the *qamīṣ*, a shirt or shift with sleeves that is worn beneath other clothes, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, s.v. Possibly *laysa fīhā* indicates "not counting" rather than "without."

887. Repetition of the formula *Allāhu akbar*, "God is most great."

888. *Kāna ʿAliyyun nahā al-Ḥasana ʿan al-muthlah.*

889. That is, the descendants of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, the grandfather of both ʿAlī and the Prophet.

890. For *ḥadīths* prohibiting *al-muthlah*, see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v., and see too s.v. *ʿaqūr*.

891. The name is used variously with reference to features of the sanctuary at Mecca. It seems that its most common application is to the semicircular wall that encloses the area of the Ḥijr immediately adjoining the Kaʿbah on the northwest, but see Hawting, "Muslim Sanctuary," esp. 34–36.

as God is my witness, if I do not kill him, or if I kill him and survive, I will come to you and place my hand in yours." Al-Ḥasan replied, "By God, not until you see Hell!" and he had him brought forward and killed him. Then the people took him, wrapped him in some straw mats, and set fire to him.

As for al-Burak b. ʿAbdallāh, on the night when ʿAlī was stabbed, he waited for Muʿāwiyah. When he came out to make the morning prayer, al-Burak rushed at him with his sword, but it only landed on Muʿāwiyah's buttock and the assailant was seized. He said to Muʿāwiyah, "I have something good to tell you secretly but, if I do, then will you let me have something in exchange for it?" Muʿāwiyah said, "Yes," and he continued, "One of my brethren has killed ʿAlī on this same night." Muʿāwiyah said, "Perhaps he was [3465]
not able to carry it out." "Indeed yes," said al-Burak, "ʿAlī comes out without any guard to protect him."

Muʿāwiyah ordered that al-Burak be killed, and then he sent to al-Sāʿidī,[892] who was a doctor. He examined Muʿāwiyah and said, "Choose one of two things that I shall put before you: either I heat up an iron and put it on the wound, or else I will give you a potion that will make you infertile but you will recover from your wound. Your wound is poisoned." Muʿāwiyah said, "As for the fire, I cannot stand it. As for infertility, in Yazīd and ʿAbdallāh I have already that which delights my eye." So he gave him that potion, and he recovered but had no children subsequently.

It was then that Muʿāwiyah instituted the *maqṣūrah* in the mosques, the night guard, and the stationing of men (*shurat*) at his head when he prostrated in prayer.[893]

As for ʿAmr b. Bakr, on that night he sat waiting for ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ but he did not appear, for he was suffering from stomach pains. Instead he ordered the commander of his guard, Khārijah b. Ḥudhāfah of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy,[894] to lead the prayer. Khārijah went out to do so and ʿAmr b. Bakr fell upon him, stabbing and killing him, thinking that it was ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. The men seized the assailant and hastened with him to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, whom they

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892. This is his only appearance.

893. For the *maqṣūrah*, the "reserved area" in a mosque, see *EI*², s.v. Masdjid; for the *shuraṭ*, s.v. Shurṭa.

894. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḫāriǵa; he was a Qurashī and sub anno 27/647–48 is described as being in charge of the *qaḍāʾ* of Egypt.

greeted as *amīr*. Ibn Bakr asked, "Who is this?" and they told him, "'Amr." "Then who is it that I have killed?" Told that it was Khārijah b. Ḥudhāfah, Ibn Bakr said, "By God, you wicked man (*fāsiq*)! I was sure it was you!" 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ replied, "You wanted me, but God wanted Khārijah!" Then he had 'Amr b. Bakr brought forward and killed him.

[3466] When Mu'āwiyah heard about that, he wrote to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ:

The fate of a shaykh of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib[895]
 was murder, and many are the causes of death.
Oh 'Amr, take it easy. You were his paternal uncle
 and his companion, above his male relatives.
You escaped, but the Murādī[896] has moistened his sword
 (with blood) from the son of Abī Ṭālib, the shaykh of al-Abṭaḥ.[897]
Another like him (i.e., like Ibn Muljam) struck me with a sword,
 and this was a blow that continues to afflict us,
While you, every day and night, in that Egypt of yours,
 speak honeyed words to fair-skinned ladies, like gazelles going to pasture.

When news of 'Alī's death reached 'Ā'ishah,[898] she said:

And she threw down her staff and settled upon her place of abode,
 like the traveler happy to return home.[899]

She asked who had killed him and, when told that it was a man of Murād, she said:

Even though he was far away, there has announced his death
 a young man (*ghulām*) in whose mouth there was no dust.[900]

Zaynab, the daughter of Abū Salamah,[901] said, "Are you saying this about 'Alī?" and 'Ā'ishah replied, "I am forgetful, and, if I forget,

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895. That is, Khārijah.
896. That is, Ibn Muljam.
897. A name applied to several places in and around Mecca; here it is probably synonomous with Mecca (see *EI*², s.v. Makka).
898. The widow of the Prophet, and the opponent of 'Alī at the Camel.
899. *Ann.*, A.H. 40 §32, says that the verse is proverbial and is cited to indicate pleasure at something.
900. That is, he told the truth.
901. See nn. 812, 813, above.

remind me."[902] He who brought tidings of 'Alī's death was Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams b. Abī Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī.[903]

Ibn Abī Mayyās al-Murādī[904] said about the killing of 'Alī:

You upon whom be blessings, we have struck Ḥaydar[905]
Abū Ḥasan with a blow to the head and he was split apart.
We have removed kingship from his concerns,
with the blow of a sword, since he waxed high and mighty.
We are noble and powerful in the dawn,
when death puts on and wraps itself in death. [3467]

He also said:

I never saw a dowry provided by any generous man,
whether Arab or other, like that of Qaṭāmi:
Three thousand dirhams, a slave, and a singing girl,
and the stabbing of 'Alī with the piercing blade.
There is no dowry, however costly, more costly than 'Alī,
and no killing above that performed by Ibn Muljam.

Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī said:

Indeed, say to Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥarb,
and may those who gloat not rejoice:
"Do you afflict us in the month of fasting
with the loss of the best of all men?[906]
You have killed the best of those who ride mounts
and put the saddle upon them, the best of those who sail the seas;
The best of those who wear sandals and make them,
the best of those who recite the *mathānī* and the *mubīn*.[907]
If you looked at the face of Abū al-Ḥusayn,
you saw the full moon that delighted those who looked.

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902. The words of 'Ā'ishah are obscure in meaning, possibly ironic.

903. That is, the nephew of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (see n. 422, above).

904. This is Ṭabarī's only citation of this poet of Ibn Muljam's tribe.

905. Literally, "the Lion," a name frequently given to 'Alī.

906. The implication may be that Mu'āwiyah was behind the murder of 'Alī.

907. The two Arabic nouns are both Quranic and associated with the idea of scripture: some interpreters apply them to the Qur'ān itself. On the former, see Rubin, "Seven *Mathānī*."

Quraysh knew, wherever they were,
that you ('Alī) were the best of them in status and in religion."

There are different opinions about 'Alī's age on the day he was
[3468] killed. Some said that he was fifty-nine but, according to Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallāh,[908] 'Alī's son al-Ḥasan used to say, "When my father was killed he was fifty-eight." According to some, he was sixty-five when he was killed, but according to Abū Zayd ('Umar b. Shabbah)—Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madā'inī)—Ayyūb b. 'Umar b. Abī 'Amr—Ja'far b. Muḥammad:[909] 'Alī was sixty-three when he was killed. This last report is the best option.

According to 'Umar (b. Shabbah)—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥimmānī—Sharīk—Abū Isḥāq:[910] When 'Alī was killed he was sixty-three. According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī): When 'Alī assumed authority he was fifty-eight and some months. His caliphate lasted for five years, all but three months, and then Ibn Muljam, whose name was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr, killed him in Ramaḍān, seventeen days of it having elapsed. His rule lasted for four years and nine months and he was killed in the year 40 at the age of sixty-three.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī): 'Alī was killed aged sixty-three early on the Friday morning, seventeen nights of Ramaḍān having passed in the year
[3469] 40. He was buried by the congregational mosque in the governor's residence (*Qaṣr al-Imārah*).

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: 'Alī was stabbed early on the Friday morning. He survived for the Friday and the Friday night, and died on the Saturday night when eleven nights were left of Ramaḍān in the year 40. He was sixty-three years old.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Alī b. 'Umar and Abū Bakr al-Sabrī—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl:[911] I heard Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah saying in "the year of the deluge" (*al-juḥāf*), "This year of 81 has begun and I am sixty-

908. That is, Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, the compiler of *Kitāb nasab Quraysh*.

909. That is, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the sixth imam of the Imamis and Ismā'īlīs; for the form of Ayyūb's name, see *Add. et emend.*

910. That is, 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh Abū Isḥāq al-Hamdānī al-Sabī'ī (?).

911. That is, the grandson of 'Alī's brother 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib.

five years old?[912] I have passed the age of my father." He was asked how old his father had been at his death and he said, "He was sixty-three when he was killed."

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: Similarly. And that is our firm opinion.

The Length of His Caliphate

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit (al-Rāzī)—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar:[913] 'Alī's caliphate was five years, all but three months. According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: 'Alī's caliphate was five years, all but three months. [3470]

According to Abū Zayd—Abū al-Ḥasan: 'Alī's rule was four years, nine months and a day—or several days.

His Physical Appearance

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Isḥāq b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Farwah: I asked Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī,[914] "What did 'Alī look like?" and he said, "A tawny man, markedly so, with heavy and large eyes, corpulent, bald, tending to shortness."

His Ancestry

He was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Abū Ṭālib's personal name was 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf. 'Alī's mother was Fāṭimah the daughter of Asad b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf.

His Wives and Children

The first wife he married was Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God, and he took no other wife while she lived. Fāṭimah bore him al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (it is reported that she also bore

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912. In fact, at Ṭabarī, II, 1039–40 [= vol. XXII, 187, of this translation], 80 A.H. is called the *'ām al-Juḥāf*; it was so called because of a flash flood at Mecca.

913. See n. 88, above.

914. That is, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the great-grandson of 'Alī.

him another son called Muḥassin,[915] who died while still a baby), Zaynab the elder, and Umm Kulthūm the elder.

[3471] Then subsequently he married Umm al-Banīn bint Ḥizām (Ḥizām was Abū al-Majl b. Khālid b. Rabī'ah b. al-Waḥīd b. Ka'b b. 'Āmir b. Kilāb). She bore him al-'Abbās, Ja'far, 'Abdallāh, and 'Uthmān, who were killed with al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā'—only al-'Abbās had progeny.

He also married Laylā, daughter of Mas'ūd b. Khālid b. Mālik b. Rib'ī b. Sulmā[916] b. Jandal b. Nahshal b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, who bore him 'Ubaydallāh and Abū Bakr. Hishām b. Muḥammad claimed that these last two were killed with al-Ḥusayn at al-Ṭaff.[917] However, Muḥammad b. 'Umar claimed that it was al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd who killed 'Ubaydallāh at al-Madhār,[918] and that neither 'Ubaydallāh nor Abū Bakr had any descendants.

'Alī also married Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, al-Khath'amiyyah. She bore him—according to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Yaḥyā and Muḥammad, the youngest (of the three with that name). Hishām said that neither of them had progeny. Al-Wāqidī, however, said (according to the report of al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī) that Asmā' bore 'Alī his two sons Yaḥyā and 'Awn. Some say that the youngest Muḥammad was born of a concubine (*umm walad*)—that was what al-Wāqidī said, and he said that the youngest Muḥammad was killed with al-Ḥusayn.

From the woman called al-Ṣahbā' (who was Umm Ḥabīb bint
[3472] Rabī'ah b. Bujayr b. al-'Abd b. 'Alqamah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Utbah b. Sa'd b. Zuhayr b. Jusham b. Bakr b. Ḥubayb b. 'Amr b. Ghanam b. Taghlib b. Wā'il; she was a concubine from among the captives taken by Khālid b. al-Walīd when he raided the Banū Taghlib at 'Ayn al-Tamr) 'Alī was father of 'Umar and Ruqayyah. 'Umar b. 'Alī was granted eighty-five years of life, having a half share of 'Alī's inheritance and dying at Yanbu'.[919]

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915. Cairo: Muḥsin.

916. Cairo: Salmā.

917. That is, at Karbalā' (see n. 831, above, for al-Ṭaff).

918. Slightly north of al-Baṣrah (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 42–43), this was the site, in 67/687, of a significant defeat inflicted on al-Mukhtār by the army of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, the governor of al-Baṣrah.

919. The port of Medina on the Red Sea.

'Alī also married Umāmah bint Abī al-'Āṣī b. al-Rabī' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf. Her mother was Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God, and she bore him the second of his sons who were called Muḥammad.

The eldest of his sons with that name is known as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah. His mother was Khawlah, the daughter of Ja'far b. Qays b. Maslamah b. 'Ubayd b. Tha'labah b. Yarbū' b. Tha'labah b. al-Duwal b. Ḥanīfah b. Lujaym b. Ṣa'b b. 'Alī b. Bakr b. Wā'il. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah died in al-Ṭā'if[920] and Ibn 'Abbās made the funeral prayer over him.

'Alī also married Umm Sa'īd bint 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd b. Mu'attib b. Mālik al-Thaqafī. She bore him Umm al-Ḥasan and Ramlah the elder.

'Alī had daughters also by various mothers whose names have not been given to us. Among these daughters were Umm Hāni', [3473] Maymūnah, Zaynab the younger, Ramlah the younger, Umm Kulthūm the younger, Fāṭimah, Umāmah, Khadījah, Umm al-Kirām, Umm Salamah, Umm Ja'far, Jumānah, and Nafīsah. Their mothers were various concubines.

He also married Maḥyāt, the daughter of Imru' al-Qays b. 'Adī b. Aws b. Jābir b. Ka'b b. 'Ulaym of Kalb. She bore him a girl who died while still little. Al-Wāqidī said that this little girl used to go out to the mosque while she was a child, and they would ask her, "Who are your mother's people?" and she would answer, "Woof woof!"[921] meaning Kalb.

The total number of 'Alī's progeny was fourteen males and nineteen females.[922]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī: Five of 'Alī's sons had descendants: al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah, al-'Abbās the son of the Kilābī woman, and 'Umar the son of the Taghlabī woman.

His Governors

In al-Baṣrah his governor in this year was 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās—and we have already mentioned the difference of opinion about that.

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920. In the Ḥijāz to the southeast of Mecca.
921. *Wah wah*; the name of her mother's tribe, Kalb, means "dog."
922. Text has "seventeen."

Under his control were the *ṣadaqāt*, the army, and the *ma'āwin*[923] for the whole of his period of office. When he departed he left a deputy in place, as I have confirmed previously. Over the judiciary
[3474] there 'Alī had appointed Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī. And I have reported what happened regarding the appointment of Ziyād and then 'Alī's sending him to Fārs in charge of its warfare and *kharāj*. 'Alī was killed while Ziyād was in Fārs and doing that.

'Alī's governor over al-Baḥrayn and its environs and al-Yaman and its *makhālīf* was 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās until there occurred what we have reported about the events concerning him and Busr b. Abī Arṭāt.

His governor over al-Ṭā'if and Makkah and their dependencies was Qutham b. al-'Abbās, and over al-Madīnah Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (but it is also said Sahl b. Ḥunayf) until what happened to him when Busr came, as we have previously reported.

Aspects of His Conduct

According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Abī Dhi'b—'Abbās b. al-Faḍl, the *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim—his father—his grandfather, Ibn Abī Rāfi', who was 'Alī's treasurer: One day 'Alī came in and found his daughter had been dressed up in finery and saw her wearing a pearl from the treasury. He recognized it and said: "Where did she get this? It is my duty to God to cut off her hand!" When I saw that he was serious about that, I said: "By God, Commander of the Faithful, I adorned my brother's daughter[924]
[3475] with it. Where would she have got it if I had not given it to her?" And he was silent.

According to Ismā'īl b. Mūsā al-Fazārī—'Abd al-Salām b. Ḥarb—Nājiyah al-Qurashī—his paternal uncle, Yazīd b. 'Adī b. 'Uthmān: I saw 'Alī leaving the Banū Hamdān[925] and he saw two parties

923. *Al-ma'āwin* is the plural of *al-ma'ūnah*, on which see n. 653, above. The three areas of responsibility specified for Ibn 'Abbās perhaps cover taxation in general (or perhaps only taxation of property other than land), financial matters concerning the regular troops, and financial matters concerning the irregulars.

924. The expression is to be understood honorifically rather than literally. Ibn Abī Rāfi' ('Ubaydallāh) was the son of a *mawlā* (freed slave) of the Prophet. For the father, and reference to the son as a scribe of 'Alī, see Ṭabarī, I, 1778–79.

925. Presumably referring to their quarter in al-Kūfah.

fighting with one another. He separated them and then continued on his way. He heard a voice crying, "Oh, help me for God's sake!" He set off toward it hurriedly and I heard the tread of his sandal and he was saying, "Help is at hand." He saw a man grasping another and the man said, "Commander of the Faithful, I sold this robe to him for nine dirhams, but imposed a condition on him that he would not give me in exchange any suspect or clipped coins (that was the usual contract at that time). (He paid me with bad coins so) I brought him these dirhams to exchange for me but he has refused. I persisted with him and he hit me." 'Alī said, "Change them for him." And he said, "You must show proof of the hitting." The plaintiff showed him the proof and 'Alī made the assailant sit down, and said to the plaintiff, "Here you are! Take retaliation." But he said, "I pardon him, Commander of the Faithful." 'Alī said, "I merely wanted to protect your rights." Then he gave the assailant nine lashes and said, "This is the right of the governing authority" (*sulṭān*).

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umārah al-Asadī—'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣbahānī—al-Mas'ūdī—Nājiyah—his father: We were standing at the gate of the governor's residence (*qaṣr*) when 'Alī came out to us. When we saw him, we moved aside from in front of him out of respect for him. And when he had passed we formed up behind him. At that point, someone shouted out, "Oh help, for [3476]
God's sake!" There were two men fighting together. 'Alī smote each one of them in the chest and then said, "Move aside!" One of them said, "Commander of the Faithful, this one bought a sheep from me and I stipulated that he should not give me any suspect or clipped coins, but he gave me a suspect dirham. I gave it back to him and he struck me." 'Alī said to the other, "What do you say?" "He has spoken the truth, Commander of the Faithful," he replied. 'Alī said to him, "Give him what he stipulated," and then, "Sit down!" To the one who was struck he said, "Take retaliation," but the latter replied, "May I pardon him, Commander of the Faithful?" 'Alī said, "Yes, you may."

When the plaintiff had gone away, 'Alī said, "Band of Muslims, seize this one!" They did so and he was carried on someone's back just like the pupils of the school are carried, and then he gave him fifteen lashes and said, "This is an exemplary punishment (*nakāl*) for your profanation of his inviolacy (*ḥurmah*)."

According to Ibn Sinān al-Qazzāz—Abū 'Āṣim—Sukayn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz—Ḥafṣ b. Khālid—his father, Khālid b. Jābir: When 'Alī was killed I heard al-Ḥasan, who had arisen to give a *khuṭbah*, say, "Tonight you have killed a man on a night in which the Qur'ān came down,[926] a night in which Jesus the son of Mary was taken up, and a night in which Joshua the son of Nun, the champion of Moses, was killed.[927] By God, none of those who were before him are ahead of him and none of those who will come after him will overtake him. By God, if the Prophet sent him on a raid, Gabriel was at his right hand and Michael at his left. By God, he did not leave (at his death) gold or silver except for 800 or 700 dirhams, which he set aside for a servant woman."[928]

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926. Traditionally, the Prophet is said to have received his first revelation in the month of Ramaḍān (see Qur'ān 2:181).

927. See the article on Ramaḍān in *EI*[1] for various other events associated with the month; the death of Joshua is not mentioned there.

928. Cairo: "for his servant."

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Index

This index includes all proper names of persons, places, and tribal and other groups, together with technical terms.

The definite article al-*, the abbreviation* b. *(*ibn *"son of") and the designation* bint *("daughter of"), and everything in parentheses are disregarded for the purposes of alphabetization. Where a name occurs in both the text and the footnotes on the same page, only the page number is given.*

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